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CHAPTERS ON MAGIC IN SPANISH LITERATURE

SAMUEL M. WAXMAN

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CHAPTERS ON MAGIC IN SPANISH LITERATURE

ABBEVILLE. — IMPRIMERIE F. PAILLART

CHAPTERS ON MAGIC IN SPANISH LITERATURE

BY

SAMUEL M. WAXMAN

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION PRESENTED AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY
IN 1912
UNDER THE DIRECTION OF PROFESSOR J. D. M. FORD

Extrait de la *Revue Hispanique*, tome XXXVIII

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CHAPTERS ON MAGIC IN SPANISH LITERATURE

CHAPTER I.

SCHOOLS OF MAGIC AT TOLEDO AND SALAMANCA.

I. THE RODERICK LEGEND AND THE CAVE AT TOLEDO.

The study of magic during the Middle Ages was regarded as a legitimate intellectual pursuit. It was even sometimes classed as one of the seven liberal arts. Petrus Alphonsus in his *Disciplina Clericalis* [1], after naming six of the arts says. « De septima diversae sunt plurimorum sententiae, quaenam sit, Philosophi qui prophetas non sectantur ajunt nigromantiam esse septimam. » In the *Pseudo-Turpin,* the seventh art is astrologia which has a daughter in nigromantia. « In aula regis depictus non fuit, quoniam libera ars minime habetur. Sciri enim libere potest, sed operari nisi daemonorum familiaritate nullatenus potest [2]. This subtle distinction between the study and the practise of magic seems to have been universal in the Middle Ages and it was probably responsible for the two classifications, white and black magic.

There were schools for the study of magic, where the great

1. VI, 7.

2. Chap. XXXI. *De septem artibus quas Karolus depingi fecit in palatio suo.* Cf. ed. F. Castets, Montpellier, 1880.

magicians were reputed to have learned their art, at Naples and Padua in Italy, at Orléans in France, but the most renowned of all were in Spain at Toledo, Seville, Cordova, and Salamanca. It is easy to understand why Spain should have been looked upon as a centre for the study of the black arts during the Middle Ages. There the Arabs and Jews kept the torch of learning aflame through the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, and since such sciences as mathematics, astrology, astronomy, and alchemy were closely associated with magic both black and white, Spain very naturally acquired this reputation. Toledo, Seville, and Cordova were the great seats of learning of Arabic Spain where magic was alleged to have been taught. Consequently when Salamanca became a famous seat of learning of Christian Spain, it was natural that this city too should be associated with the study of magic.

That Toledo was the most universally known of the three Arabic Spanish cities is shown by the fact that *ars* or *scientia toletana* were frequently used as terms for magic. The association of Toledo with magic dates from the twelfth century, when after the reconquest of the city, Christian, Moor, and Jew, under an enlightened rule, worked together there for the advancement of learning. At this period there flourished at Toledo a famous school of translators headed by Archbishop Raimundo to which flocked scholars from all parts of Europe [1]. Toledo became an academic centre and the schools of Cordova and Lucena were moved there. The books translated were mainly those of Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew writers. They dealt with metaphysics, astronomy, and mathematics.

The Jews were at this time deeply engaged with their cabalistic works, and their mystic signs and figures were popularly

1. Cf. V. Rose : *Ptolomaeus und die Schule von Toledo*, in *Hermes, Zeitschrift für Classische Philologie*, vol. VIII, 1874, p. 327.

regarded as belonging to the paraphernalia of magic. The Arabs had brought along with them from the East their traditions which had a strong magical flavor. Most of the magicians of the early Middle Ages were either Moslems or Jews; the Christian magician came later. Moreover the Arabs and Jews in Spain studied and wrote works on judiciary astrology, on the power of talismans and amulets, and on the interpretation of dreams. Menéndez y Pelayo speaks of a catalog which gives a list of 7700 books written by Moors and Jews on this last subject alone[1]. This number must have seemed prodigious to the mediaeval mind, but when we consider that the famous library of Al Hakem at Cordova is said to have contained 600.000 works, it is not unbelievable. Even assuming that these figures represent the padded lists of Arabic chroniclers, nevertheless the widespread learning manifested by Moors and Jews in Spain must have sent travelers away with wondrous tales which were soon exaggerated and embellished.

Archbishop Raimundo's principal translators were Juan Gundisalvo, and the Jew Juan Hispalense. The latter is credited with having translated many books on magical subjects, and was described as being « insigne en arte mágica y en ciencia astrológica[2] ». Among the books on magic written by the Arabs in Toledo at this period is a work entitled *Picatrix* ascribed to a certain Norbar and translated into Latin by command by Alfonso el Sabio[3]. The work is divided into four books. I. *De Caelo*, II. *De Figuris Caeli*, III. *De Propietatibus Planetarum*, IV. *De Propietatibus Spiritum*. This treatise gives an excellent insight into the close relations that existed between magic, astrology, meta-

1. *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, Madrid, 1880, vol. I, p. 574.
2. Menéndez y Pelayo: *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 576.
3. There are two extant versions of this work in the Bib. Nazionale at Florence, XX, 20 and 21. Cf. J. W. Brown: *Life and Legend of Michael Scot*, Edinburgh, 1897, chap. IX. p. 183.

physics, and alchemy. Mr. J. W. Brown tells us that the text deals mainly with explanations of reactions and their transformations or magical changes in three different regions of being[1]; (1) reactions among elemental spirits, (2) reactions of one kind of matter on another, as in alchemy. The second book is elaborated at great length. The influence of matter upon heavenly spirits is admitted, and Aristotle is often quoted. We have in this work a dissertation on what was known as white magic, but since it was written by an infidel and in Arabic characters it would of course become black magic in the popular eye.

The name Picatrix is especially interesting because it appears in Rabelais. Panurge tells Frère Jean about a « reverend père en diable, Picatris, recteur de la faculté diabologique » at Toledo[7]. Since the name Picatris is used by Rabelais to designate the head of a school of magic at Toledo, the book must have been known or its title at least connected with black magic at Toledo in his time.

Whenever a European scholar, desirous of adding to his stock of learning, went to Spain, he was immediately classed as a magician and dabbler in the black arts. Two famous examples are Gerbert, who subsequently became Pope Sylvester II., and Michael Scot. Gerbert suffered in after ages because of his great mathematical knowledge. He was far more advanced than his brother priests, and his sudden rise to power coupled with his profound learning earned for him the title of magician. The fact that he had been to Spain only served to reinforce this belief. There is no doubt that he visited Spain, but he made a very short stay there and probably did not get beyond Catalonia[2].

For the purposes of this study only the legendary matter concerning his sojourn in Spain interests us. William of Malms-

1. *Pantagruel*, I, III, 23.

2. Cf. A. Olleris: *Œuvres de Gerbert*, Paris, 1867; A. Graf: *Miti, Leggende, e Superstizioni del Medio Evo*, vol. II, chapter on Gerbert. Cf. also Menéndez y Pelayo: *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 575.

bury records that Gerbert fled from France to Spain in order to study astrology and the like arts with the Saracens [1]. Going to Seville he practised there divinations and incantations as was the custom among the Saracens [2]. He learned to interpret the songs and flights of birds, and became an expert in calling up the spirits from Hell. Our chronicler includes a fantastic tale of his adventures with a certain Moorish philosopher and magician at whose house he lived. He had learned a great deal from this sage, but there was much magic lore still unknown to him. This was contained in a rare book in the magician's possession. With the help of the old man's daughter, Gerbert succeeded in getting the magician intoxicated and while he slept stole the book and fled. When the Moor awoke he discovered his loss and knowing without the aid of any magic formula in the book where it was, set out in pursuit of Gerbert. But the thief had made an agreement with the devil, promising to surrender his soul if he might elude his pursuer. Thus he escaped the Moor and became the possessor of great magic secrets. The date of this story was about 1150, a century and a half after Gerbert's death, ample time for legends to have sprung up about him. Stories of devil pacts and marvelous magic books are common features of all legends dealing with men accused of dabbling with the black arts. Gerbert like many other magicians of the Middle Ages was said to have possessed a silver head endowed with prophetic powers [3].

Scot actually lived at Toledo while Raimundo's school was flourishing [4]. He made several translations from Aristotle and

1. *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, II, 10.

2. Del Rio, in his *Disquisitionum Magicarum*, Libri Sex, Bk. VI, p. 219, tells the same story about Gerbert, substituting Toledo for Seville.

3. Graf: *Op. cit.*, vol. II, chap. I.

4. Cf. J. W. Brown: *Op. cit.* and Graf: *Op. cit.*, vol. II, chap. on Michael Scot.

Averroes both of whom were magicians in the Middle Ages. Whether or not these translations were made from the originals we do not know. At any rate, Scot must have had help from some Moor or Jew. Furthermore, he interested himself in astronomy and alchemy, and after leaving Spain became court astrologer to Frederic II. of Sicily. It is small wonder then that a mass of legends was woven about him in all countries of Europe.

According to popular tradition he became to Frederic what Merlin was to Arthur. None of Scot's contemporaries, Roger Bacon, Vincent of Beauvais, or Albertus Magnus, accuse him of being a magician, but in later times he was almost universally accepted as such. Dante brands him as a vulgar conjuror in the well known lines:

> « Quell' altro che ne' fianchi è cosi poco,
> Michele Scotto fu, che veramente
> Delle magiche frode, seppe il gioco [1]. »

Boccaccio calls him a « gran maestro di nigromanzia » [2], and Teofilo Folengo in his maccaronic poem, *De Gestis Baldi* [3], makes him a magician. In Sir Walter Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel,* this « wizard » has studied magic at Salamanca [4]. There his mighty book of magic lore is dug up from his grave as he himself had directed.

The tradition having spread that magic was studied at Toledo, it was natural that the site of the school should have been definitely located. Magic in all ages having been frowned upon by the ecclesiastical authorities, its study was assumed to have been conducted clandestinely. Therefor a cave was invented, not at all an unlikely place for the pursuit of a forbidden study. We

1. *Inferno,* XX, lines, 115-117.
2. *Decameron,* VIII, 9.
3. Canto, XVIII.
4. Canto, II, stanza, 13.

have classic traditions of the cave of the Sybil in the *Aeneid* and that of Trofonius in Beotia where oracles were questioned. Furthermore, since the study of black magic presupposed dealings with the devil who dwelt in the infernal regions, an underground school would seem entirely appropriate. The topographical situation of Toledo helped the legend of a cave. Built on a high bluff which contains many natural hollows, a site could be easily selected. Greater authority was given the tradition of a cave by gradually placing its foundation in more and more remote times, first in the Visigothic, then the Greek, and then even in the Phoenician period.

There is a well known legend still current in Spain to the effect that the downfall of Roderick the Goth was predicted to him by an inscription which he found in a famous magic cave at Toledo said to have been built by Hercules. In the contemporary Christian chronicle of the epoch, the anonymous *Epitoma Imperatorum* of 754, there is no mention whatever of this legend, which was treated in later times as sober history [1]. It would appear therefor that the legend was of Arabic origin, since we find it first in their records, and afterwards embellished by Christian writers of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries.

The earliest account comes from Ibn Habib, an Hispano-Arabic writer of the latter part of the eighth century who tells us that at Toledo Musa found a sacred house of Kings in which there were twenty-five crowns, each inscribed with the name of a Visigothic King. Near this house was another one furnished with twenty-four locks, one of which had been added by each successive king until Rodrigo came to the throne. Filled with curiosity to see what was within this bolted house, Roderick broke open the locks in spite of the warnings of the priests.

1. Cf. L. P. Tailhan: *L'Anonyme de Cordoue,* and Introduction.

Within he found a wooden coffer on which figures of Arabs were depicted. Close by was an inscription saying, « When this house will be opened and entered, a people whose figures and aspect resemble those here represented will invade this land, will overcome it, and conquer it[1] ». Ibn Kostadbeh (also Jordadbeh) who wrote about the middle of the ninth century tells substantially the same story, adding that in the house of the crowns the famous table of Solomon was found by Musa.

Ibn Alkutiya of the tenth century has a more plausible tale. The Gothic Kings used to keep in a certain palace the four gospels on which they took their coronation oaths. The palace was opened only on the death of a king, at which time his name was inscribed therein. In this version, after forcing the doors, Roderick finds wooden statues representing Arabs with the same prophetic inscription. In this simple story probably lies the germ of the fancifully elaborated tales which developed from it. As Eduardo de Saavedra says there no doubt existed at Toledo a basilica where each king deposited a votive crown, took his oath of office on a casket containing the gospels, and swore to respect the church treasures. Roderick running short of funds looted these treasures with the result that his downfall was afterwards ascribed to this sacrilege. Saavedra's explanation of the prophetic inscription is that it was most likely a papal bull excommunicating the person who should dare to violate the consecrated property of the church[2]. It is interesting to note in passing that at Guarrazar, a town about seven miles from Toledo, eleven votive Gothic crowns made of gold and precious stones were found in 1858[3].

1. Cf. Juan Menéndez Pidal: *Leyendas del Ultimo Rey Godo*, Madrid, 1906, p. 11 ff. and René Basset : *La Maison Fermée de Tolède*, 1898.

2. *Estudio sobre la Invasión de los Arabes en España*, 1892, p. 40.

3. Cf. P. Madrazo's article on this discovery in *Monumentos Arquitectónicos* de España, vol. I, and M. A. S. Hume : *The Spanish People*, N. Y., 1906, p. 61.

Another version of our legend is told by Al Makkari and according to Basset was probably taken from Al Homaidi of the eleventh century[1]. The Greek kings of Andalus, fearing the invasions of the Berbers, constructed talismans to ward them off. One of these charms they placed in an urn in a palace at Toledo. As in other accounts, the kings of Spain kept adding locks which are eventually broken by Roderick who finds the urn containing the prophetic inscription[2]. Al Makkari recounts another tale of a palace built at Toledo by a certain wise king who placed in one of the rooms a magic amulet which should preserve the land from invasion. If the amulet should be destroyed, as it was by Roderick, the country would be invaded[3]. There is an Egyptian legend somewhat analagous to this one of a talisman which pointed in the direction of an invading army upon which this story is probably modelled[4]. Washington Irving uses the same motif in his *Legend of the Arabian Astrologer*. He places the talisman on the top of a tower. It is a mounted figure who levels his lance in the direction of an invading army.

Still another tale of a magic amulet is told by the prolific Al Makkari[5]. It is localized at Cadiz, but some of its details are used by later writers in the Toledo accounts. A certain Greek King of the island of Cadiz had a very beautiful daughter for whose hand two kings in Andalus were rivals. The father not wishing to offend either suitor hesitated to favor one. The princess who was as wise as she was beautiful suggested that they be asked to

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 9. Cf. also F. Pons Boigues : *Ensayo Bio-Bibliográfico sobre los Historiadores y Geógrafos Arabigo-Españoles*, Madrid, 1898, p. 164.

2. Pascual Gayangos : *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties of Spain*, London, 1840, vol. I, p. 259 ff.

3. Gayangos : *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 257.

4. René Basset, *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

5. Although Al Makkari belongs to the first part of the seventeenth century, he drew from Arabic sources of the period which we are discussing. For that reason I include his tales here.

perform tasks which the king sorely needed to have done. The one who succeeded best was to have the daughter. The King proposed this plan to the rivals who agreed to the terms. One was asked to construct a hydraulic machine which should bring water from Africa, and the other was to provide a talisman against the invasions of the Berbers. This talisman consisted of a tower seventy cubits high on the top of which was placed a statue made of copper and iron. In the extended right arm which pointed out to sea were held keys and a padlock. The attitude seemed to say. « No one may pass this way. » As long as this statue remained standing the magic spell retained its power and no ship of the Berbers could ever sail into the strait. The builder of the aqueduct finished his task first and won the princess. His unfortunate rival threw himself from the top of his own magic tower [1].

The talismanic tower of this story is doubtlessly one of the pillars of Hercules. In several thirteenth century Spanish accounts of the building of the pillars by Hercules at Cadiz there are very similar details. The *Crónica General* of 1289 says that Hercules « fizo y una torre muy grand, e puso ensomo una ymagen de cobre....e tenie en la mano diestra una gran llave en semeiante cuemo querie abrir puerta [2]. » In the *Estoria de los Godos*, a Spanish version of the *Historia Gothica* of Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo which is mentioned as one of the sources of the *Crónica General*, we find the idea of magic power in connection with the pillars. « Hércules auie un estrument que era bueno contra el canto de las Serenas [3]. » In an old Spanish geography of the same century the statue is an « ydolo.....e tenie en su mano una llave [4]. » An

1. Gayangos : *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 259 ff.
2. Cf. ed. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1906, p. 8.
3. *Doc. Ined. para la Historia de España*, vol. LXXXVIII, Madrid, 1887, p. 9.
4. In the *Boletin* of the Geographical Society of Madrid, 1879, appendix III.

interesting analogy is to be found in the *Pseudo-Turpin* where the tower at Cadiz becomes a magic idol built by Mohamet. The figure holds a key in the hand and, « ut ipsi Sarraceni aiunt », when this key should fall a king of Gaul would conquer the land [1].

In the so-called *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, incorporated in the *Crónica General* of 1344, there is a very elaborate account of the palace at Toledo, the first of a long series of fantastic descriptions recurring again and again in the works of Spanish chroniclers [2]. It was this account rather than that of the earlier *Crónica* that was used by later historians. According to this rendering, Hercules through his great astrological knowledge, foreseeing that Toledo was to become an important city, built a tower there so high that a stone thrown up from the ground could not reach the top. It stood upon four metal lions, and its exterior was of polychrome mosaic depicting various historical events. What the interior contained was a mystery, tradition had it that it was an « encantamiento ». Twelve men only, the guardians of the palace knew what Hercules had placed within. Their number was kept intact by filling vacancies caused by death. When Roderick looted this palace he found an interior of marvellous beauty. One hall was black, one white, one green, and one red. Not a nail or piece of wood was used in the construction of the whole building. It was formed entirely of mosaics, beautiful beyond the power of man to describe. It was a veritable palace of Aladdin's lamp.

1. Cf. ed. Castets, p. 8.

2. This chronicle is said to have been translated from a Portugese version of Gil Perez, now lost, which was in turn supposed to have been translated from the Arabic of Ahmed Ar-Razi an Arabic historian of the ninth century. Cf. R. Menéndez Pidal : *Crónicas Generales de España*, Madrid, 1898, p. 17 ff. for a reprint of this account. Cf. also Pascual Gayangos : *Memoria sobre la Autenticidad de la Crónica Determinada del Moro Rasis*, in *Memorias del Academia Real de la Historia*, vol. VIII, 1852.

This tower is nothing but a transplantation of one of the pillars of Hercules. The fact that it should be found as far north as Toledo need not surprise us. According to local traditions the Spanish peninsula is liberally supplied with pillars built by Hercules. They are even found as far north as La Coruña, at which place Hercules is said to have constructed a huge magic mirror on a tower in order to keep hostile ships off the coast [3].

It seems that the cult of Hercules had existed in Spain as late as the fifth century A. D. Many sigilla of this god have been discovered in the Iberian peninsula [2]. He has been identified with Melcarth, the astrologer and soothsayer god of the Phoenicians, who built a temple in his honor at Cadiz [3]. Through this confusion, Hercules himself became in time endowed with magical attributes. He was probably that wise king of the Greeks who constructed the talismanic tower at Cadiz mentioned by Arabic and early Spanish chroniclers.

In the development of the legend of Roderick, the prophetic inscription is first found in a simple house, then in a palace, and later in a tower associated with magic. In the *Atalaya de las Corónicas* of Alfonso Martínez de Toledo (1443) it was a « cueva » that Hercules built. Lying on a couch in this cave was a statue holding in its hand the same prophetic inscription which appeared in the other versions. It would appear as if the introduction of the magical element into these stories required a more secluded setting than that afforded by a structure on the surface of the earth. Hence the cave which was destined to play so important a part in Toledo's magic fame. The fact that Toledo had, long before this chronicler's day, been associated with the study

1. Cf. Lucian García del Real : *Tradiciones y Leyendas de España*, Barcelona, 1898, vol. IV, p. 36 ff.

2. Hübner : *Arqueologia en España*, Barcelona, 1888, p. 265.

3. Altamira : *Historia de España*, vol. I, p. 69.

of magic may have influenced the author in substituting a cave for a palace.

Although this is the first mention of a cave in connection with the Roderick legends, it is by no means the first appearance of Toledo's cave. As early as the first *Crónica General* we learn about a certain King Rocas, a descendant of Hercules, who was so desirous of gaining knowledge that he left his kingdom and traveled in search of it over many lands. At length he came upon seventy pillars, thirty of brass and forty of marble upon which was written all learning. Rocas copied it all down in a book « por o adeuinaua muchas cosas de las que auien de seer, e fazie tan grandes marauillas que los que lo ueyen tenien que fazie miraglos. » At a spot where Toledo now stands « fallo y una cueua en ques metio o yazie un dragon muy grand...e fizo una torre sobraquella cueua [1]. » He lived in this cave for some time with a dragon and a bear. The tale of the book of knowledge and of Rocas' companions probably gave rise to the tradition that the language of animals could be learned at the cave of Toledo.

Another early reference to a cave is found in Rodrigo Yannes' *Crónica Rimada de Alfonso Oceno* of the first half of the fourteenth century.

« Merlin fabló d'Espanna
E dixo esta profeçia
En las couas de Ercóles
Abrán fuerte lid enplasada [2]. »

The next development of the Roderick legend definitely locates the cave. Blas Ortiz, a vicar general of Toledo who wrote about the middle of the sixteenth century, states that it was situated on the highest point of the city. He identifies it with

1. *Crónica General*, p. 12 and 13.
2. Cf. ed. Madrid, 1863, I, 1808 ff.

the « cueva de San Gines », the crypt of a church of the same name [1]. Pedro de Alcocer, a contemporary of Ortiz, says that a Greek, Ferecio by name, « un gran astrólogo y nigromante » lived in a cave with a dragon and taught the people to make sacrifices to the gods, especially to Hercules [2]. In Miguel de Luna's *Verdadera hystoria del rey Don Rodrigo* (1589), which he claimed was a translation from an Arabic chronicler [3], the stone statue of Hercules becomes a mighty figure of bronze striking the ground repeatedly with a battle axe [4]. This flight of fancy is an example of the heights to which the imagination of the Spanish chronicler of the time could rise.

According to Pedro de Rojas who declared that his knowledge was derived from historical documents and manuscripts, it was Tubal who founded the city of Tubaletum whence comes the modern Toledo, and it was he who built the cave there [5]. Hercules, who came later, merely enlarged it. The latter was « muy sabio en la magia.....y labró mucho en la Cueva que halló empezada donde leyô la magia algunos años. » The entrance to the cave is situated beneath the church of San Gines, and it runs under the city for more than three leagues. In one part of this vast cavern Hercules is said to have built the famous enchanted palace. The cave was used by the Romans as a sewer through which ran an underground river. Rojas goes on to cite Pedro de Salazar who tells of an exploration of the cave made by Cardinal Martínez y Siliceo. Salazar who rejects all stories of the study

1. Cf. *Descriptio Templi Toletani* in PP. Toledanos, Madrid, 1793, vol. III, appendix II, p. 376.

2. *Historia ó Descripción de la Imperial Cibdad de Toledo*, 1554.

3. Albucacem Tarif Abentarique, an author who doubtless belonged to the same Arabic literary school as his famous contemporary, Cide Hamete Benengeli.

4. Lope de Vega in his *Ultimo Godo* and Sir Walter Scott in his *Vision of Roderick* both use this version.

5. *Historia de Toledo*, 1654, Parte I, chap. XIII, p. 93 ff.

of magic in the cave, gives the following account of the expedition. The explorers « declararon con juramento que aviendo caminado como media legua entre Levante y Septetrion aunque á ellos les pareció que quatro leguas, por el trabajo con que yvan, toparon con unas estatuas, a su parecer de bronce, sobre una ara, y que cayó una de ellas con ruydo que los espantó. Passando adelante toparon con un golpe de agua, que no pudieron atrauesar, por no tener recado para ello, y causoles mucho miedo por la fuerça con que corria. Desde alli se bolvieron, penetrados de el frio y de la humedad, y enfermaron, y murieron quasi todos [1] ». This expedition Salazar says took place in the year 1546. In the same year the cave was closed up by order of Martínez y Siliceo.

Embellishment after embellishment is added to the original legend by contemporary and later writers. The palace, the tower, and the cave, sometimes all three combined are found in their accounts. Gorgeously decorated rooms, fabulous treasures, famous books of magic are minutely described. Inscriptions are multiplied, over the entrance gate, on the statue inside, on the walls, on the locks, in the chest. They are written in Arabic, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. Solomon's precious table assumes talismanic powers, magic mirrors are found, flasks are discovered containing Moors' heads. Imprisoned imps jump out from boxes, eagles swoop down upon the tower carrying blazing brands to set it on fire when Roderick leaves. Never is the imagination of these writers exhausted. Their stories are worthy of being included in the *Thousand and One Nights*. Sober historians of Toledo narrate these wild tales as authentic facts [2]. Even Mariana leaves

1. In the *Crónica de el Gran Cardenal de España, Don Pedro Gonçalez de Mendoça*, Toledo, 1625, p. 4.

2. José Joaquín de Mora satirizes these pseudo-historians in his poem, *Don Opas*, canto 59, London, 1840.

it to the reader's judgement to decide whether or not the accounts are false [1].

That the Roderick legend was popularly known in early times in Spain is attested by two ballads which tell the story in its simplest form. One speaks of the « casa de Hércules. »

« Vino gente de Toledo
por le haber de suplicar
que á la antigua casa de Hércules
quisiese un candado echar... [2] »

Another mentions the « torre de Hércules. »

« En Toledo está Rodrigo,
al comienzo del reinado
vinole gran voluntad
de ver lo que está cerrado
en la torre que está allí,
antigua de muchos años.
En esta torre los reyes
cada uno echó un candado
porque lo mandó así
Hércules el afamado [3]. »

In all its variations the story of the cave at Toledo still remains one of the most widespread legends in Spain. According to Olavarria y Huarte tales of the palace and cave of Hercules are told in Toledo to-day [4]. One popular legend has it that the palace fell with a crash after Roderick's sacrilegious violation, leaving nothing but a black abyss inhabited by supernatural beings. It was in a gloomy spot, half a league from the city, a site differing entirely from that of most of the other legends which placed the entrance

1. Cf. *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles,* vols. 30 and 31.
2. Durán : *Romancero General,* No 583, anonymous.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 584, from Lorenzo de Sepulveda's collection.
4. *Tradiciones de Toledo,* Madrid, 1880, p. 29 ff. and p. 121 ff.

to the cave in the heart of Toledo underneath the church of San Ginés. As soon as night fell, strange lugubrious noises could be heard issuing from the abyss. Mingled with these sounds were the echoes of gigantic hammers beating upon an anvil, the neighing of horses, the shrill cries of birds, the hissing of serpents. Intermittently human voices shrieked. The sounds ceased at dawn. At the bottom of this terrible chasm gleamed a radiant light. The fabulous treasures which the avaricious Roderick failed to get were still there guarded by the spirits of the cave who in spite of their forbidding surroundings were kind and gentle. The man who could acquire the magic knowledge secreted in the cave would become omniscent, for there he might learn the speech of birds, the power to dominate wind and sea and all the forces of nature. Wanderers who strayed into the district about the cave, « el recinto encantado », and slept within its boundaries would awaken with their pockets filled with gold and precious stones. Those who ventured too near the chasm would be lost forever.

In addition to the two sites mentioned, there is a third which is still pointed out to travelers in the old Jewish quarter of Toledo. Here Enrique de Villena who has a reputation as a master magician in Spain practised his art. Feijoo says that a friend of his who lived in Toledo told him that some ruined houses were still standing in that city in whose subterranean rooms Villena formerly taught magic [1]. The flimsy source of this legend lies in the fact that the property had once belonged to the Villena family. It is not certain that Villena ever lived there at all. The combination of the name Villena and the city of Toledo was too strong, however to combat popular tradition.

In 1851 a society was formed to explore the opening which had been closed up by Siliceo. Olavarria y Huarte quoting their

1. In *Teatro Critico,* vol. VII. Cf. *Bib. Aut. Esp.*, vol. LVI, p. 374 ff.

report says that they cleared a place « de 50 piés de largo por 30 de ancho, en el que se alzan tres grandiosos arcos de buena piedra silleria y dos muros de lo mismo á los costados de estos, sosteniendo dos fuertísimas bóvedas, de construcción evidentemente romana [1]. » Their researches ended there, for they reached live rock and could penetrate no farther.

There have been many conjectures as to the origin of this cave legend. Menéndez y Pelayo among others attributes it to the existence of two famous water clocks built by the Arabs at Toledo, and operating cisterns with subterranean connections [2]. Others assert that the cave was originally a Roman sewer [3]. Amador de los Ríos offers the most plausible explanation. According to him the cave was nothing but the crypt of an old Roman temple [4]. Whatever may have been its origin, the whole idea of a cave seems to have been a fabrication of Spanish chroniclers. It was grafted on to the Arabic legend of Roderick with the spread of Toledo's reputation as a centre of magic studies.

2. MAGICIANS AT TOLEDO.

The first two magicians credited with having studied their art at Toledo are, as has been shown Rocas and Hercules, mythical characters. Michael Scot and Gerbert, both branded as magicians, were historical personages known to have studied in Spain, the former at Toledo itself. Following in their steps, the famous magicians of Europe go to Spain, most of them to Toledo. It is a

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 300 ff.
2. *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 580. Al Makkari gives a full account of the mechanism of these cisterns, in Gayangos : *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 82.
3. Pedro de Rojas : *Op. cit.*, Parte I, chap. XIII.
4. *Artes Mágicas en el Suelo Ibérico* in *Revista de España*, vol. XVII and XVIII.

curious fact that the earliest records of magicians studying at Toledo are to be found not in Spanish literature but in that of Germany and France.

Caesar von Haisterbach of the early part of the thirteenth century, who is so fond of telling stories of the devil and the black arts, places two tales of students of magic at Toledo. In one, two Swabian students pursuing the « arte nigromantica » in that city, ask the professor for a demonstration of his powers. They are taken to a field and commanded to form a circle with a strict injunction not to break it. The professor then invokes the « daemones » with incantations. The spirits immediately appear and try to force the students out of the circle, first by pricking them with swords, and then assuming the forms of beautiful alluring maidens. One unlucky youth, seduced by the charms of a fair siren is captured and led away by the demons. Thereupon the students make a great clamor and threaten to kill the teacher unless their comrade is returned to them forthwith. The « princeps daemonorum » is summoned and assures the students that their friend will not be harmed, but that having disobeyed his teacher, he should be punished. The professor insists however that his pupil be restored to him at once. The prince of the demons then calls upon « Olivere quendam daemonem » to decide the matter. Olivere advises his chief to give up the student. This is done and the beguiled youth comes back « macer et pallidus » The call was a very close one ; the chastened pupil will take no more chances in this world of temptation and enters a monastery — the usual dénouement in Haisterbach's tales [1].

In the second story there are two men who in their youth pursued the black arts « apud Toletum ». They had agreed that he who died first should return and give an account of his experiences beyond the grave. One of them having died, his spirit

1. *Dialogus Miraculorum*, ed. Strange, I, 33.

appears to his friend announcing that because of his connection with the forbidden arts, he has been eternally damned. He beseeches the friend to abjure necromancy and save his soul. Profiting by this warning of the doomed spirit, the living sinner follows the advice and becomes a monk [1].

In addition to Haisterbach's stories, there are two other German thirteenth century references to Toledo as a magic centre. One is found in the poem *Die Gute Frau.*

« Diu selbe vrouwe bî ir het
Einen Meister von Tôlet
Der von Nigromanzîe las
Und des Listes gar ein Meister was [2]. »

The other is in the *Biterolf und Dietlieb* whose hero, Biterolf, is a Spanish king with his capital at Toledo.

« In der houbetstat dâ er saz :
Tôlêt was diu genant,
dar inne dienten im diu lant.
ein berc lit nâhen dâ bî
dâ der list nigrômanzi
von êrste wart erfunden,
den man bî unsern stunden
noch vaste üebet und liset [3] : »

The literature of the thirteenth century in France also knows of Toledo's fame. Helinandus, a Latin chronicler of the early part of this century, writes, « Ecce quaerunt clerici Parisius artes liberales, Aurelianis auctores, Bononiae codices, Salerni pyxides, Toleti daemones, et nusquam mores [4]. » Renard learned his craft at this school at Toledo.

1. *Ibid.* V. 4.
2. Cf. M. Haupt : *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, Leipzig, 1842, vol. II, p. 463.
3. Oscar Jänicke : *Deutsches Heldenbuch*, p. 2, l. 73 ff. Cf. also Knust's ed. of the *Conde Lucanor*, notes, p. 327.
4. Cf. Tissier : *Biblioteca Cisterc*, vol. VII, p. 257.

« ..... A Toulete en est venus
Où il refu moult bien conus,
Car autrefois i eut esté
Tout un ivier et un esté.
Apris avoit del nigremance,
Onques ne fu clerc qui en France
Séust tant des enchantemens,
D'apresté et d'esperimens [1]. »

Rutebeuf, in his fabliau, *La Bataille des Sept Arts*, an imaginary discussion between the liberal arts of the Universities of Paris and Orléans, speaking of a certain doctor says :

« De Toulete vint et Naples,
Qui des batailles sont les chapes,
A une nuit de Nigremance ;
Qui lor dist bien lor mésestance [2]. »

Here we find Naples rivalling Toledo as a centre of the magic arts, a reputation which it gained in connection with the Vergilian legends. It must be remembered also that the French, during the Middle Ages, placed Naples in the Iberian peninsula [3].

Rutebeuf's contemporary, Gauthier de Coinsi, after describing the death of Sainte Léocade of Toledo, exclaims :

«Ençois fevriers devenra mais
Que Tolete la r'aient mais :
Ja por tote lor nigremance
Ne la r'aront bien la lor mant ce [4]. »

1. *Renart le nouvel*, in ed. Méon of the *Roman du Renart*, vol. IV, l. 2949 ff.

2. Ed. A. Jubinal : *Œuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, Paris, 1875, vol. III, p. 335. Cf. also Legrande d'Aussy : *Notices des Mss. français de la Bib. Nat.*, p. 496.

3. Cf. *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. Castets, p. 335 note.

4. *De sainte Léocade*, in E. de Barbazon, *Fabliaux et Contes*, Paris, 1808, vol. I. p. 336.

Francisque Michel mentions an anonymous poem at the end of one of his manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose* in which he finds the following lines :

« Et il est cornart et deceu
Qui de tail créance est meu.
Jà n'ert par les arz de Tolete
Fine amour quise ne parfete [1]. »

There is no doubt that the « ars de Tolete » was equivalent to « ars toletana. » The expression « jouer les arts de Tolède » seems to have been a common French term for conjuror's passes and sleight of hand tricks, developing later the significance of deception of any kind. The following couplet from Gaidoz et Sebillot's *Blason Populaire de la France* is an illustration :

« Il fait d'un coq une poulette
Il joue les arts de Toulète [2]. »

One of the exciting romances of mediaeval France is that of the magician and free lance, Eustache le Moine, the history of whose exploits also falls in the thirteenth century. Eustache is described as « Illuecques noirs moignes.....ke de Toulète revint, où il ot apris nigremanche [3] ». There his professor of magic was the devil himself.

« Il avoit à Toulète esté
Tout .j. ivier et un esté
Aval sous terre en .j. abisme
Où parloit au malfé méisme,
Qui li aprist l'enghien et l'art
Qui tout le mont dechoit et art.
Il aprist mil conjuremens,
Mil caraudes, mil esperimens [4].

1. Ed. of *Eustache le Moine*, Paris, 1834, p. 86 ff. notes.
2. p. 349.
3. *Roman d'Eustache Le Moine*, ed. Michel, l. 5-8.
4. l. 11-18.

One of his companions « un viex barbés... à Toulete ot .XX. ans més... [1] ».

As far as I have been able to determine, this is the first record of a magician studying the black arts at Toledo in a cave, for so the phrase « aval sous terre en .j. abisme » must be interpreted. Michel dates this romance between 1221 and 1284. This is also the first appearance of the devil as professor of magic at Toledo. It was a common belief in the Middle Ages that all magicians derived their knowledge of the black arts from the Prince of Darkness, and the closer their relations with the devil the greater their proficiency. The price paid for such teaching was popularly supposed to have been the soul of the student.

In a chanson de geste entitled *Maugis d'Aigremont*, of the latter part of the thirteenth or first part of the fourteenth century, the hero, Maugis, is likewise a brigand magician of the Eustache type. He first appears in the *Quatre Fils Aymon* [2] as a cousin to the four brothers, and is called a « larrons ». The first suggestion of his magic powers is found in the *Renaud de Montauban*. In the *Maugis d'Aigremont* [3] the author further develops the magic powers of Maugis in describing his youthful adventures [4]. Oriande, « la fée, » and her fairy attendants have charge of the early training of the hero. Her brother Baudris, an alumnus of Toledo's school, gives Maugis his first lessons in magic. In this chanson Toledo rises to the dignity of a centre of universal learning where all the arts including magic may be studied. Baudris

1. l. 101-102.

2. Cf. ed. P. Tarbé, Rheims, 1861.

3. Cf. ed. Castets, Montpellier, 1893 and *Recherches sur les Chansons de Geste*, Paris, 1887, for a discussion of this work by the same author.

4. On the name Maugis, Italian *Malgigi*, connected with the Germanic *Madalger*, son of a queen of the dwarfs, cf. P. Rajna : *Le Origini dell' Epopea Francese*, p. 434 ff.

« Moult fu bien des .VII. arz entroduiz et apris,
Il ot plus de .C. anz, si fu vi(e)lz et floriz [1]. »

That magic was included in these seven arts is shown later when Maugis speaking of the « art de l'ingromance », says :

« ..... Bien ait Baudri, mon bon mestre sachant,
Qui cest art me mostra a Toleite la grant [2]. »

Espiet, the dwarf « folet », Maugis' close friend and helper, is likewise a magician.

« Onques mes hon ne vit ausi fort souditor
Ne de l'art d'ingromance nul tel enchanteor [3]. »

Espiet himself tells Charlemagne in another passage :

« Je sui nes de Tolete, filz d'un tresgeteor [4],
(Il ne fu si bon mestre) jusqu'en Ynde major,
De son mestier m'aprist et de ses geuz pluisor,
Tant en sai que vos onques ne veïstes meillor [5]... »

Just as Oriande is telling Maugis that she is not his mother, but that he is the son of « Bues li sire d'Aigremont », there suddenly arrives a messenger from « Toleite le grant ».

« ..... si salua Baudri,
Puis li a dit : « Biaus sire, entendez a mes diz.
Li sages Goliaz, (Anfares et (Lan)dris
Vos mandent qu'a Tolete soiez ainz .XV. diz,
Car trove ont soz terre en .I. celier (voltiz)
.I. livre merveilloz qui moult est de haut pris
Que li (sage Ypocras i ot repost et mis) [6]. »

1. l. 634 ff.
2. l. 9019 ff.
3. l. 2130 ff.
4. Variant gives *encanteour*
5. l. 5622 ff.
6. l. 1899 ff.

Maugis accompanied by Baudris and Espiet reaches Toledo after many adventures.

« A joie les reçurent li haut mestre honore,
Moult i ot despendu avoir et richete.
A Tolete la grant ont longuement este,
Por apenre Maugis se sont tuit moult pene
Tant qu'il fu des .VII. arz apris et doctrinez.
Mestres Maugis estoit a Tolete apellez,
Des autres mestres fu tenez li plus senez.
Rien ne veïst ja fere, ce est la veritez,
Einçoiz ne fust l'afere mestre Maugis conte,
Et, s'il alast encontre, ja puis n'en fust parle [1]. »

I have no explanation to offer as to who the three sages, Goliaz, Anfares, and Landris might be. They were probably Arabs since Toledo was considered a Moorish city at the time these events transpired in the author's imagination. The « livre merveilloz » of Hippocrates is another example of the tendency in the Middle Ages to associate all learning and learned men regardless of their epoch with Toledo. Hippocrates was but a name, a by-word in medical lore, and since the Arabs in Spain were the great physicians of the time, it is not surprising to find his name connected with Toledo. The book is one of that great library of magical works attributed to scholars and writers of antiquity and preserved for the guidance of future generations. The words « soz terre en .I. celier » suggest a subterranean study. In a sixteenth century prose version of the early *Maugis d'Aigremont*, the magician during his visit to Toledo was recognized as having become so proficient in his art that he was made a member of the faculty, « on le laissoit en chaise [2] ». We search in vain in the chanson for further mention of this marvelous book when

1. l. 2539 ff.

2. *Les deux très-plaisantes Hystoires de Guerin de Montglave et de Maugist d'Aigremont*, Paris, 1518, feuillet LXI.

Maugis and his companions reach Toledo, but the author, carried away by his interest in the principal character, has completely forgotten it.

Although in France and Germany the literary possibilities of the legends centering about Toledo's magic fame were recognized as early as the thirteenth century, it was not until the fourteenth century that the legends make their appearance in the literature of Spain. In Juan Manuel's story of Don Yllan and the Dean of Sanctiago, one of the best examples of early Spanish narrative, Toledo's cave figures as an underground study where magic is taught. The dean « avia muy grant talante de saber el arte de la nigromancia. Et oyo dezir que don Yllan de Toledo sabia ende mas que ninguno que fuese en aquella sazon. Et porende vinose para Toledo para aprender de aquella sciencia [1] ». Don Yllan is loth to teach him an art through which he might achieve great distinction and afterwards forget his benefactor. The dean protests that he will never be ungrateful, and the magician finally consents to receive him as a pupil. He is asked to descend a stone stairway which leads into a passage that seems to run beneath the Tagus. At length he reaches a room filled with many books, Don Yllan's study. To put the dean to the test, the magician gives him the illusion that he is passing through many years of his life, during which he is successively raised in ecclesiastical dignity until he reaches the topmost point, the papacy. Yllan was confident that the dean would show himself ungrateful in his supposed elevated position, and the experiment proved it [2].

The underground room is not referred to as a cave, it seems to be rather a private study where our magician wished to work

1. *Conde Lucanor, Exemplo XI, De lo que contescio a un dean de Sanctiago con don Yllan, el gran maestro de Toledo.* Cf. ed. H. Knust, Leipzig, 1900.

2. Cf. a similar apologue told in the *Novellino*, 21, and another in the *Paradiso degli Alberti* told by Michael Scot.

his arts clandestinely. Amador de los Ríos says that the name Yllan was well known in Toledo in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and that the family was associated in popular tradition with the practice of magic[1]. Gamero, an historian of Toledo, however, in a letter to Knust in which he speaks of this family, writes, « en ningún documento ni aun aparece en las obras que incidental ó directamente se han ocupado de la nigromancia[2] ». The connection, therefor of this family with the study of magic probably had no basis in fact.

This tale of Manuel furnishes the nucleus of one of Ruiz de Alarcón's plays, *La Prueba de las Promesas*. He himself acknowledges his source in the last lines :

> « Esta verdadera historia
> Senado ilustre y discreto
> Cuenta el conde Lucanor
> De un mágico de Toledo[3]. »

Nothing is added in this play which might give any further clue to the identity of Don Yllan or to the location of his magic study. The action takes place in Yllan's « estudio », there being no intimation that it is underground. In the actual space of time that it took to saddle a horse, Juan, one of the characters, is raised step by step from a simple gentleman to a grandee, and instead of rewarding his benefactor he heaps indignities upon him. As in the *Conde Lucanor* he fails in the « Proof of his Promises ». It is not probable that Alarcón connected the legend of the cave of Hercules with the apologue of Juan Manuel. At the time Alarcón wrote, Salamanca and not Toledo was regarded as

1. *Historia Crítica de la Literatura Española,* vol. IV, p. 280, note.
2. Knust ed. of the *Conde Lucanor*, notes, p. 325.
3. Cf. *Comedias de Alarcón* in *Bib. Aut. Esp.*, vol. XX. The date of the play is about 1620.

the centre of magic in Spain. The very title of his play, *La Cueva de Salamanca,* corroborates this opinion.

Virgil, the resuscitated magician of the Middle Ages, also studied at Toledo. Among other accounts, the *Faictz Merveilleux de Virgille* tells us that he « s'en estoit allé a tollette pour apprendre, car il apprenoit trop volontiers et moult fut sage des ars de nigromence ». The Virgil of Cordova transformed into an Arabic philosopher interests us here. In the Biblioteca Toletana, Martin Sarmiento (1695-1772) unearthed a manuscript dated 1290 ending with the following statement [1]. « Istum librum composuit Virgilius Philosophus Cordubensis in Arabico, et fuit translatus de Arabico in latinum in civitate Toletana [2] » Both the date and the origin of this document have been questioned. Sarmiento, quoted by Feijoo, says that it was written a century later [3]. Menéndez y Pelayo also puts it in the last half of the fourteenth century [4]. The work no doubt belongs to that long series of fictitious translations from the Arabic in Spain. The pretended translator probably knew no Arabic as his Arabic names are impossible. His Latin is barbaric.

The author begins by enumerating the various philosophers at Toledo who had come from all parts of Europe to study there. They were in the habit of discussing the most difficult problems, but on one occassion they arrived at a question which they could not solve. They turned for assistance to Virgil of Cordova, « magistrum scientiae quae vocatur apud nos refulgentia, apud alios dicitur nigromantia. » They invited him to Toledo but he

1. Feijoo: *Op. cit.*, in *Bib. Aut. Esp.*, vol. LVI, p. 374 ff.

2. Published by Gotthilf Heine in his *Biblioteca Anecdotorum*, Lipsiae, 1848, Pars I, p. 211 ff. I have been unable to find a copy of this book in the United States; furthermore it is out of print. My knowledge of the work is derived from extracts given by Feijoo in the article cited above, from Menéndez y Pelayo, and from Comparetti's *Virgilio Nel Medio Evo*, vol. II, p. 95 ff.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 379.

4. *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 579.

bade them come to Cordova instead. This they did, and at their instigation Virgil composed the masterwork in question in the first person. The book dealt with the science of « refulgentia » which had been revealed to the author by spirits. This science is not a vulgar study, only the chosen philosophers, those without sin, understand this « ars et scientia sancta » which was revealed by the good angels to Solomon. He enclosed all the evil spirits in a bottle, but one in making his escape was lamed. The *City of Brass* of the *Thousand and One Nights*, Guevara's *Diablo Cojuelo*, and the many tales of bottled imps are variations of this same legend. Our author goes on to say that Aristotle accompanying Alexander to Jerusalem found there Solomon's lost *Book of Wisdom* in which this King learned the art of summoning spirits and questioning them. Through Aristotle this art was passed on to later philosophers. The writer goes on to name the philosophers and astrologers who studied with him at Cordova and Toledo. His list is a mixture of absurdly sounding names and actual historical characters thrown in pell-mell regardless of chronology. Among them are for instance, Calafataf, Gilibertus, and Aladanfanc at Toledo; at Cordova Seneca, Avicena, Averroes, « et nos Virgilius », the modest author.

Although the accounts of the spirits and the lost book of Solomon have an Arabic flavor, they are not necessarily of Arabic origin, but may have come from some aljamía source, Jewish or Arabic. They certainly have many of the characteristics found in that mongrel literature. Sarmiento identifies the « refulgentia » with the Cabala[1]. Whoever the author was, it is very evident, as Menéndez y Pelayo aptly says, that he « decía bernadinas[2] ».

The first Italian reference to Toledo's school comes in the fifteenth century. In Pulci's *Morgante*, we have perhaps the most

1. *Memorias para la Historia de la Poesia y Poetas Españoles*, p. 79.
2. *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 579.

frequently quoted passage referring to the study of magic at Toledo. In Canto XXV, the author, speaking of a certain « negromante sendo in Tolleto, » says :

« Questa città di Tolleto solea
Tenere studio di negromanzia :
Quivi di magica arte si leggea
Pubblicamente e di piromanzia :
E molti geomanti sempre avea,
E sperimenti assai d'idromanzia,
E d'altre false opinion di sciocchi
Come è fatture o spesso batter gli occhi[1]. »

Although Maugis was often mentioned in connection with Toledo's school, his Italian counterpart Malgigi is never credited with having studied there.

Notwithstanding the fact that Pulci was familiar with the tradition that magic was studied at Toledo, as the above quotation shows, he puts the famous cave at Saragossa. This occurs in the passage where Marsilio, having just received from Charlemagne the false message from Ganelone, is about to reply.

« Poi finse una sua novelletta
In una selva presso a Siragozza
Per quel ch'io udi gia dir sendo in Toletta
Dove ogni negromante si raccozza
E una buca ne lo entrare stretta
Ma poi sotterra molto spazio ingozza.
Dove stanno a guardar sei gran colonne
Certi spirti gentil con varie gonne[2]. »

The author goes on to say that the columns are of different materials, gold, silver, brass, iron, pewter, and lead. This is certified by people who saw them. The six spirits take rank according

1. Stanza 256.
2. Canto, XXV, 42.

to the value of the columns which they guard, and most fortunate is he who receives help from the spirit of the golden pillar. The six pillars are doubtless an echo of the famous six pillars built by Hercules at Seville [1]. Of course the « buca » is Toledo's cave embellished by Pulci's fertile imagination. The shifting of the site from Toledo to Saragossa is merely a wide stretch of poetic license. Pulci says that he had always understood that the cave was at Toledo, and seems surprised to find it at Saragossa where for purposes of his narrative he himself has placed it.

Rabelais whimsically supplies our school of magic at Toledo with a whole faculty of professors. Panurge tells Frère Jean, « au temps que j'estudiois à l'escole de Tolete, le reverend père en diable Picatris, recteur de la faculté diabolologique nous disoient que naturellement les diables craignent la splendeur des espées, aussi bien que la lueur de soleil [2] ». It is apparent from this that as early as Rabelais' time, the whole subject of magic at Toledo was treated as an old wives' tale.

Toledo plays an interesting part in the *Wagner Buch*, sequel to the *Faust Buch*. The work is anonymous and bears the pseudonym Fredericus Scotus Tolet, the last part being of course Toledo. It appeared first in 1593 giving no place of publication or publisher [3]. The author claims that his book is a translation of a Spanish work dated 1523, a copy of which he received from a Benedictine monk, Fray Martin, at that time living in Germany. Faligan scouts the idea of a Spanish source for this *Wagner Buch*, pointing out that the Faust legend did not develop until later than 1523 [4]. There is no doubt that both the Spanish source and the date are fictitious. The book belongs to the date 1593 when it first appeared, and to Germany, not to Spain. In

1. Cf. *Crónica General* of 1289, sec. 6, and Durán: *Romancero*, No. 456.
2. *Pantagruel*, III, 23.
3. Cf. Scheible's *Kloster*, vol. XI, p. 590 for 1593 edition.
4. E. Faligan : *Histoire de la légende de Faust*, Paris, 1888, p. 278 ff.

one of its adventures Wagner and his Spanish friend Juan de Luna are transported to Toledo on enchanted cocks as large as horses. They betake themselves to an inn there frequented by students of the black arts, of whom they request a demonstration of their magic powers. Luna, forthwith, finds a pair of donkey's ears on his head. Wagner, in revenge, changes all the students into pigs, and not a magician in all Toledo can help them regain their former shape. This episode is only one of many of the same kind, belonging rather to the category of student pranks than to the domain of magic proper.

As late as the seventeenth century Toledo still retains its reputation for magic. In the « Second Livre des serées de Guillaume de Bouchet » of 1634, we find an allusion to a magic mirror « qui fust fasciné et garny de magie diabolique de Tolette[2] ». In another of Ruiz de Alarcón's plays. *Quien mal anda en mal acaba*, the protagonist, Ramón Ramirez, a Morisco magician who makes a pact with the devil, hails from Toledo. Don Gil, the hero of Mira de Mescua's *Esclavo del Demonio*, also makes a pact with the devil with whom he studies magic at a « cueva cerca de Toledo ». It is very likely that Calderón who took other suggestions from Mira de Mescua had the cave of Toledo in mind in his *Mágico Prodigioso*. He has Cypriano study magic with the devil in a cave near Antioch where the action takes place[2].

3. Magicians at Salamanca.

It has been shown how the Moorish cities, Seville and Cordova, shared with Toledo the reputation of being associated with

1. p. 193. Cf. p. 87 of Michel's ed. of *Eustache Le Moine*, notes.

2. I hope to publish soon a detailed account of the devil pact motif in these plays.

the black arts. In the sixteenth century, Salamanca also became a rival of Toledo, so great a rival that its fame eventually overshadowed that of Toledo. This rivalry was brought about by the renown that the University of Salamanca acquired soon after its foundation in the thirteenth century [1]. It became rapidly recognized as one of the leading institutions of learning in Europe, rivalling Paris and Bologna where its professors were invited to lecture. In its early days, members of its faculty assisted in drawing up the astronomical tables of Alfonso, a task which of course would be allied in the popular mind with astrology and magic. Furthermore many Arabic books were translated here under Alfonso's orders. It was not at all unnatural then that since Toledo a great seat of learning of Moorish and Christian Spain was popularly associated with the study of magic, Salamanca, later acquiring fame for its learning should also be connected with the forbidden arts. It was not until the sixteenth century however that the tradition of a school of magic at Salamanca became widespread. Its school is at first usually mentioned along with that of Toledo, but later on it acquired an independence of its own. This popular belief is not hard to understand when it is remembered that not only during the Middle Ages but in the Renaissance as well the sciences and magic were confused.

An isolated reference to a magic school of Salamanca is very puzzling. In the second book of Lefèvre's *Recueil des Histoires de Troye* of 1464 « qui parla des prouesses du fort Hercules », there is an elaborate account of a cave-school at Salamanca [2].

« Hercules... s'en alla en la cite de Salamanque et pour ce qu'elle estoit bien peuplee il y voulut faire une solonelle estude. Si fist faire en terre ung tres grant trou en maniere destude et y mist les sept ars liberaulx avec plu-

1. Cf. Vidal y Diaz: *Memorias acerca de la Universidad de Salamanca*, Salamanca, 1869, and C. Graux: *l'Université de Salamanque*, Paris, 1887.

2. Cf. O. Sommer's ed. of Caxton's English translation of 1471, and introduction which offers no solution as to the source of this account.

sieurs aultres liures. Puis y fist venir ceulx du pays estudyer, mais ilz estoyent rudes et ne sauoyent riens comprendre. Et lors pource que Hercules vouloit voyager et vouloit aussi que ceste estude fust maintenue, il fist une statue doz a sa semblance qu'il esleva au millieu de lestude de sur ung pillier et fist par son art que tous ceulx qui venoyent devant la statue pour declaration dauscune science a to propos et de toutes sciences la statue respondoit et ensengnoit les escolliers ainsicome se fust Hercules en personne. La renommee de ceste estude fut grande par le pays et dura lestude depuis iusques au temps que saint iaques convertit espaigne en la foy. »

There is no doubt that this is a repetition of the stories of the Spanish chroniclers with Salamanca substituted for Toledo and an elaboration of the statue of Hercules which becomes a magic head — one of the long series of supernatural heads which appeared in tales of magic of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. That Toledo's reputation was well known in France is attested by the many passages already cited and the current expression « jouer les arts de Tolete. » Rabelais' reference to the « faculté diabolologique » comes as late as 1546. The substitution in Lefèvre's work may be explained by the fact that in his day the fame of the University of Salamanca was at its height, and so he simply changed the name of the city where Hercules was said to have founded « les sept arts liberaulx. »

It is close on to a century before another citation of Salamanca's magic school appears. Pedro Ciruelo, the famous mathematician of the University of Salamanca, in his *Reprobación de las Supersticiones y Hechicerias* (1541) tells us : « Aquella arte (nigromancia) en tiempos passados se ejercito en nuestra España... mayormente en Toledo y Salamanca [1] » The author proceeds to thank God that through the diligence of the servants of the church, this art has been banished.

The magician Fitón in Ercilla's *Araucana* lives in a cave which offers close similarities to that of Toledo. When Fitón

1. Part II, chap. 1, p. 17.

describes the various famous cities of Spain on his magic globe, it is Salamanca and not Toledo where the black arts are taught :

« ..... Salamanca que se muestra
Felice en todas ciencias, do solia
Enseñarse tambien nigromancia [1]. »

Conrad Gesner in a letter to John Krafft of Krafftheim, dated August 1561, writes speaking of astrology and necromancy : « Equidem suspicor illos ex druidarum reliquis esse qui apud Celtos veteres in subterraneis locas daemonibus aliquot annis erudiebantur quod nostra memoria in Hispania adhuc Salamancae factitatum constat [2]. » He goes on to tell that from here came wandering scholars like Faust.

Del Rio adds Seville to Toledo and Salamanca. « Legimus post sarracenicam per Hispanas illuvionem tantum invaluisse magicam ut cum literatum bonarum omnium summa ibi esset inopia et ignoratio solae firme deamonicae artes palam Toleti, Hispali et Salamanticae docerentur. In hac quidem civitate bonarum nunc artium matre cum illic degerem estense mihi fuit crypta vestigium quam virilis animi mulier Isabella Regina, Fernandi Catholici uxor vixante annos centium caementis faxis iusserat obturari [3]. » We have already had eye-witnesses of the cave of Toledo, now we have one of Salamanca's cave. In Del Rio's version of the Aegidius legend, the devil in human form leads Gil to a « vastum specum prope Toletanam civitatem », where he teaches him the black arts [4]. Francisco de Torreblanca informs us in his *De magia* that the story about the devil who acted as an

1. Spanish Academy ed. of 1866, part III, canto XXVII, stanza 21.
2. In Scheible's *Kloster*, XI. Band, p. 223. Cf. also Faligan : *Op. cit.*, p. 32.
3. *Op. cit.*, Prolog.
4. Book VI, cap. 2, sec. 3, quaestio 3.

oracle and gave lessons in magic in a cave at Salamanca is false ; it was really a sacristan named Clemente Potosi who secretly taught magic there [1].

Both Alarcon's *Cueva de Salamanca* and Rojas' *Lo que queria ver el Marques de Villena* are plays in which an attempt is made by each author to vindicate Villena's name [2]. But we are interested here only in what concerns the cave of Salamanca. In describing the cave, Zambapalo, the « estudiante gorron » of Rojas' play, in true « gracioso » fashion tells Villena that it contains « en un redoma un demonio [3] ». He continues :

« . . . . . es
Todo el cuarto chimenea.
Hay en aquesta espelunca
Alcázar de Noruega,
Un lampion, que desde el techo
De un cordel de lazo cuelga,
Solo la puerta es un ojo
Por donde un rayo aun no entra,
Raras son cuantas alhajas
Hay en su cuarto [4]. »

In this cave lives Fileno the magician who possesses a marvelous magic mirror by the aid of which Villena is able to see and hear as in real life the actions and words of those in whom he is interested.

In Alarcón's play the legend of the cave is rationalized. Villena having come from Madrid to Salamanca in search of the cave meets Don Diego and tells him :

1. Chap. II, 4.
2. *Bib. Aut. Esp.*, vol. XX, and LV.
3. I have made a detailed study of Villena as a magician which I hope to publish soon.
4. Act. II.

« La parlera fama allí
Ha dicho que hay una cueva
Encantada en Salamanca,
Que mil prodigios encierra,
Que una cabeza de bronce
Sobre una cátedra puesta,
La mágica sobrehumana
En humana voz enseña :
. . . . . .
Supe de la cueva el sitio,
Y partíme solo á verla [1]. »

Don Diego replies :

« Oid de la cueva, Enrique,
La relacion verdadera.
Rétorica la fama, de figura
Alegórica usando, significa
La verdad de la cueva en pintura.
Esta que veis, obscura casa, chica.
Cueva llamó, porque su luz el cielo
Por la puerta no más le comunica,
. . . . . .
Y la cabeza de metal, que puesta
En la cátedra, de la lenguaje nuestro
A la duda mayor clara respuesta,
Es Enrico, un frances, ...
. . . . . .
Y porque excede á la naturaleza
Frágil del hombre su saber inmenso,
Se dice que es de bronce su cabeza. »

This logical explanation of the cave which Alarcón puts into the mouth of Don Diego is based no doubt on the legend that Villena used to practise magic in an old ruined house of Salamanca, which according to tradition was still standing in the

1. Act. I, p. 88.

eighteenth century. A similar myth, it will be recalled, connected Villena's practise of magic with a ruined house in Toledo, a fact which substantiates my belief that Salamanca's magic fame was only an echo of Toledo's. In this play the cave is very close to a church. Another version of this legend, as we have seen, states that the magic haunt is in the very sacristy of a church with the sacristan as professor of the forbidden art. Can it be that the tradition of the subterranean passage beneath the church of San Ginés at Toledo was carried on to Salamanca ? Considering that the church has at all times been severe with magicians, and especially in Spain, the placing of a school of magic under the very roof of an ecclesiastical edifice strikes one as peculiarly daring. It may be accounted for, however, by the fact that convents were used as colleges by the University of Salamanca. Furthermore the monks were the learned men of the times and many of the students took holy orders.

In addition to these plays, there is an entremés by Cervantes entitled *La Cueva de Salamanca*. Its plot, however, is too trivial to permit it to be ranked with the literature of magic ; it belongs rather like the adventures in the *Wagner Buch* to the realm of student pranks. Of this entremés there are two pale « refundiciones », one by Calderon entitled *El Dragoncillo* and another by Zavala y Zamora entitled *El Soldado Exorcista*, neither of which offers anything new in the development of the cave legend [1].

Johann Limberg, a German who travelled in Spain toward the close of the seventeenth century, brought back home a story of a marvelous cave at Salamanca in " S. Pollo " Street under a house formerly inhabited by a baker. In palatial apartments with beautiful gardens the devil conducted a school of magic in which Enrique de Villena had been one of his most proficient pupils [2].

1. Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo : *Op. cit.*, p. 584, note.

2. In *Denkwürdigen Reisebeschreibung*. Cf. Edmund Dörer : *Heinrich von Villena* in *Archiv für das Studium der Neu. Spr.* LXXVII, p. 129 ff.

Salamanca's cave is treated in a somewhat different spirit in Botelho's *Cuevas de Salamanca* of 1733, a fanciful burlesque in which Celestina and Amadis figure. This work consists of six books of satire and commentary on stories of the cave, or as the author chooses to call them, caves. In book I. we are told that the devil, who is a professor of magic in the caves, had been outwitted by only one mortal, the Marqués de Villena. This professorial devil has one human attribute, a hand. One story tells of a girl who follows a magician into one of the caves which is supposed to contain great treasures. She is bewitched, takes the form of a snake, and slays her own mother. The principal cave is called « La Cueva de San Cypriano », after the saint of that name who was said to have been a magician before his conversion. In Calderón's *Mágico Prodigioso*, Cyprian actually studies magic in a cave. It was at the entrance to this cave that the author, while listening to various puerile tales of the caves, perceives a woman coming out clothed in black with griffin's feet and lion's claws. This is the Madre Celestina. Under the guidance of Celestina, the author descends into the cave where he comes upon a beautiful land of eternal spring. No cities with streets and common houses here, but gorgeous palaces and exotic gardens. Crossing a river of milk the visitor and his guide reach an island all of whose inhabitants are enchanted. The ruler of this island is Amadis de Gaula.

The author is welcomed by Amadis who gives him an account of the origin of the cave. A certain Oxyartes is commanded in a dream by Mercury to found the caves of Salamanca. This he does with the aid of Amadis. After founding the caves, Amadis goes off to perform his deeds of knight-errantry, and upon his return is made « Archibrujo y Dueño de las Cuevas de Salamanca ». A visit is then paid to the « Nigromantesa Universidad » where the invisible professor is heard lecturing to his students. All that can be seen of him is an arm, gesticulating. The ecture is a hodge-podge of nonsensical etymologies and inane

literary commentary, much in the vein of the rest of the book. The work is in the main a confused jumble of anecdotes and legends concerning Celestina, Amadis, Villena, Roderick, and Cyprian, all characters in some way connected with magic in Spain. It is a very weak attempt to rationalize some of the established legends and to add to them puerile and meaningless embellishments. On the whole the *Cuevas de Salamanca* is pseudo-learned and pedantic treatment of a theme which in its earlier versions interested us with its freshness and naïveté.

Feijoo tells us that while investigating the legend of the cave of Salamanca, a certain Juan de Dios, a professor then holding a chair at the University of Salamanca, sent him the following story which he claimed to have found in an old manuscript [1]. In the church of San Cypriano there formerly existed a subterranean sacristy which had the appearance of a cave. In this cave there lived a sacristan who taught the magic arts, judiciary astrology, geomancy, piromancy, aeromancy, chiromancy, and necromancy. The first seven pupils agreed upon a certain sum which was to be paid to the teacher. They then drew lots to see which one should pay for all seven. The unlucky one must pay at once or be imprisoned in the sacristy until the money was raised. The next seven followed the same procedure and so on. Sometimes as many as four students at a time were kept imprisoned. This method prevailed until the son of the Marqués de Villena came to Salamanca. It fell to his lot to pay on the first drawing, but a second time he refused to pay, and upon being imprisoned, succeeded in playing a trick on the sacristan and escaped [2]. After this incident the school was closed. The date is given as 1322. Villena lived a full century later.

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 274 ff.

2. This story of Villena is found both in Rojas and in Alarcón's plays. The version in which Villena escaped leaving his shadow behind has an analogy in Chamisso's *Peter Schlemihl.*

It is Villena himself who figures in most versions of this tale. Feijoo remarks that the legend probably arose from the fact that a sacristan had once lured some boys into the sacristy of his church where he amused them with sleight of hand tricks, extorting from them a few pennies in return. He evidently makes this explanation up out of the whole cloth, and I see no reason for accepting his conjecture.

Scott, who was well versed in the magic lore of the Middle Ages and who probably knew perfectly well Michel Scot's connection with Toledo, writes in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel :*

« In these far climes it was my lot
To meet the wondrous Michel Scot ;
A wizard of such dreaded fame,
That when in Salamanca's cave
Him listed his magic wand to wave,
The bells would ring at Notre Dame [1]. »

It would seem by Sir Walter's notes in which he refers to Lefèvre's *Recueil* where Hercules founds the school of magic at Salamanca, that he probably separated Michel Scot's authentic studies at Toledo from the legendary accounts which grew up about him as a magician.

Theodor Körner in his poem, *Der Teufel in Salamanca*, credits the devil with a professorship of the black arts [2].

« Zu Salamanca im Kellergewölbe.
. . . . . .
Da hatt'er viel Zulauf, das lässt sich denken,
Es wimmelte alles auf Tischen und Bänken,
Denn er verstand sich herrlich darauf ;
Und ward die Magie ihm gar zu trocken,
So gab er weislich lustige Brocken
Und spasshafte Schwänke die Menge in Kauf. »

1. Canto II, 13. Cf. ed. of 1807 and Scott's own notes.
2. *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Streckfuss, Berlin, 1855, vol. I, p. 227.

In return for the instruction in magic, the devil was to have the soul of the man who left the cave last each year on the day of the final lesson. It fell to Villena's lot to be last, and as in the Spanish stories, he tricked the devil, leaving behind his shadow and escaping with his body.

There is a Basque story also using this shadow motif [1]. The devil had founded a school for priests in a grotto at Salamanca. Those who finished a year's instruction there were especially strong in conjurations. One unhappy pupil was to remain behind each year. One priest, who later became curé of Barkoche, tricked the devil with his shadow, and thereafter, no matter how brilliantly the sun shone, he never had a shadow.

I have made an attempt in the foregoing pages to gather together from every source within my reach, every allusion direct or indirect, to schools of magic in certain cities of Spain. There is no doubt in my mind that the existence of such schools is purely legendary and has no basis in fact. I have therefor treated the subject as folk-lore and not as history.

1. Cf. Jules Vinson : *Folk Lore du Pays Basque,* Paris, 1883, p. 6. Cf. also by the same author, *Essai d'une Bibliographie de la Langue Basque,* Paris, 1891, p. 90.

Chapter II.

CALDERÓN'S MÁGICO PRODIGIOSO.

ITS SOURCES AND ITS RELATION TO THE DEVIL PACT IN LITERATURE

The Cypriano of Calderón's *Mágico Prodigioso* has frequently been called the « Spanish Theophilus » or the « Spanish Faust ». This classification is largely due to the fact that all three, Theophilus, Faust, and Cypriano, under varying circumstances, entered into pacts with the devil. It is the purpose of this study to point out in what essential particulars these three types are allied, and in what respects they differ. For a complete understanding of the subject it is necessary to go back to the first appearance of the devil pact in legend and literature.

The first devil pact of which we have any record in Christian times is that of Theophilus, a priest who lived in Adana, Silicia, in the sixth century, and who figured in one of the many legends of the Virgin Mary cult of the Middle Ages [1]. Eutychianus, one of his disciples, whose story has come down to us in two Latin versions, describes his master as a very holy and humble ecclesiastic, who held the position of « vice-dominum » in his bishopric. When his governing bishop died, Theophilus, being next highest in rank, was acclaimed bishop by the clergy and the people. The modest Theophilus refused this exalted honor, and another priest was chosen in his stead. The new bishop, having been influenced against Theophilus, deposed him from his position of « vice-dominum ». In despair, Theophilus appealed for help to a

1. Cf. A. Sommer : *De Theophili cum Diabolo Foedere,* Berlin, 1848.

Jew, reputed to be skilled in the black arts. The Jew agreed to consult his master, the devil, and bade the priest return on the following night. This Theophilus did, and was told that if he would abjure Christianity, and deny Christ and the Virgin, the devil would have him reinstated. A pact was signed to this effect, Theophilus signing it with his own signet.

Through the devil's help he regained his former position. Some time later, however, he was seized with remorse, and prayed to the Virgin for forgiveness. After many days of prayer and fasting, the Virgin pardoned him. But Christ would not so readily forgive the sinner. Whereupon Theophilus implored the Virgin to intercede for him, reminding her that David, Paul, and Peter had been forgiven for their sins, as had also Cyprianus who was converted by Justina. After having been pardoned by Christ, Theophilus begged to have the pact which he had signed with the devil returned to him. Three days later, he saw it in a vision, and when he awakened, he found it on his breast. He immediately took it to the bishop, and in the presence of all the faithful, he confessed his sin. The bishop had the paper burned publicly. In another three days, Theophilus was found dead in the church of the Virgin who had aided him.

Here then, is a priest who makes a compact with the devil, agreeing to sell his soul in return for worldly prosperity. This is the primitive form of the legend which is at the basis of so many future versions found in the lives of saints and in their literary adaptations of the Middle Ages. We are concerned in this study with but two : Hroswitha's poem, *Lapsus et Conversio Theophili Vicedomini*[1], of the tenth century, and Rutebeuf's play, *Le Miracle de Théophile*[2], of the thirteenth century. Hroswitha changed Theophilus' country from *Cilicia* to *Cicilia*, an error

1. Cf. *Opera*, ed. Strecker, Leipzig, 1906.
2. Cf. A. Jubinal: *Œuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, Paris, 1874, vol. II. p. 231.

readily comprehended, thus transplanting Theophilus into Europe. Hence Theophilus came to be called later the « Italian Faust ». With Rutebeuf the legend underwent a more important change. Beside the fact that Theophilus prayed « en françois et en latin », the contract is described as sealed with blood. As far as I have been able to discover, this is the earliest example we have of a devil pact signed with blood. Roskoff mentions another rendering of the legend, still in manuscript form, by Brün von Schönbecke, entitled, *Die Ehre der Maria*, dated 1276, in which the contract is signed with blood [1]. This date is contemporaneous with that of Rutebeuf's *Miracle* which was written about 1260. The *Ehre der Maria* cannot naturally have had so great an influence on future literature as Rutebeuf's play, since it has never been printed.

Of course there are countless stories of the power of blood symbols among primitive peoples, even as late as classic Latin times. Human blood was drunk with wine, and blood was transfused from the veins of one man to those of another in token of brotherhood [2]. It can be readily understood how a compact signed with blood would seem more binding and at the same time more dramatic as in the case of Rutebeuf's play. But how the use of blood for the signing of devil pacts suddenly jumped into favor in the thirteenth century in two contemporary versions of the Theophilus legend is a puzzle. It may be explained by the fact that about the middle of this century a long series of blood accusations against the Jews was begun in Europe [3]. The magician in Rutebeuf's play is not a Jew, as in the old version. His name Salatins indicates that he is a Moslem. The contract

1. G. Roskoff: *Geschichte des Teufels*, Leipzig, 1869, vol. I, p. 347.

2. Cf. Jacob Grimm : *Deutsche Mythologie*, vol. II, p. 969 ff. and H. C. Trumbull : *The Blood Covenant*, Philadelphia, 1893.

3. Cf. *Jewish Encyclopedia* under *Blood*, and Jessopp and James : *St. William of Norwich*, Cambridge, 1896.

moreover stipulates seven years' service to the devil. We shall see how future contracts also required a certain number of years of servitude in return for the devil's favors. Curiously enough, in a naive poem of Gauthier de Coinsi, *Le Miracle de Theophile* [1], which belongs to the first part of the thirteenth century, the devil contract was sealed with a ring and not with blood. Every language of Europe has examples of this motif.

In Spain we have three renderings of the legend in the vernacular. One is by Berceo, (d. 1264). It appears in his *Milagros de Nuestra Sennora* [2]. Another forms one of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* [3], of Alfonso El Sabio (d. 1284). A third is in Sanchez de Vercial's *Libro de los Enxiemplos por a b c* [4], of the fifteenth century. There are also two unedited manuscript versions, one from a *santoral* of the thirteenth century or early fourteenth [5], and the other from a *flos sanctorum* of the fourteenth century [6]. In none of these accounts is the devil pact signed with blood. Along with these variations of the Theophilus legend proper, which became so well known thruout Europe, we find a number of other legends somewhat analogous to it and doubtless inspired by it. Among these are the *Eugendus* legend [7], which goes back to the sixth century, and the *Militarius* legend first told by Caesar von Heisterbach in his *Dialogus Miraculorum* [8]. Here begins a series in which the hero does not deny the Virgin, and so is saved through her. Another rendering is the *Légende du Chevalier qui donna sa femme au Diable.* Still another is the famous *Robert le Diable* cycle.

1. *Miracles de la Vierge,* éd. Poquet, Paris, 1857, p. 26.
2. *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles,* vol. LVII.
3. Cf. Spanish Academy, ed. 1889, vol. II, p. 5.
4. *Bib. Aut. Esp.*, vol. LI, nº. 237.
5. Sanchez Moguel : Appendix to his *Memoria acerca de el Mágico Prodigioso,* nº. 2.
6. *Ibid.*, Appendix, nº. 3.
7. Roskoff : *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 274.
8. Cf. ed. Strange, II, 12.

In the fabliau of Jehan de St. Quentin, *Le Dit du Chevalier et de l'Escuier* [1], the chevalier who would not renounce the Virgin, was saved, and the « escuier » who did renounce her was carried off by the devil. This second motif figures again in the *Enxiemplo del Ladron que Fizo Carta al Diablo* of Juan Ruiz [2]. None of this series has the contract signed with blood.

The love element appears to have been first introduced into the Theophilus story in an apocryphal legend of St. Basil, found in the famous *Legenda Aurea* of Jacomo di Voragine, of about 1275. The story goes that Proterius or Herodius as he is sometimes called, a former Roman senator who had become converted to Christianity, had a daughter who had made a vow of chastity. A slave of the household, inspired by the devil, fell in love with this daughter and sought a magician's aid to gain the maiden's love. The slave was advised to consult the magician's master, the devil. A contract was signed, not however in this case with blood, and the devil enflamed the heart of the maiden with love for the slave. Proterius, much against his will, was finally prevailed upon to consent to the marriage. Later the wife, struck by the fact that her husband never entered a church, begged him to tell her the reason. He confessed his pact with the devil to his wife who immediately appealed to St. Basil for counsel and help. After a long and fierce struggle, St. Basil succeeded in forcing the demon to give up the pact which fell fluttering in the midst of an assembled multitude. Lope de Vega dramatized this legend in his *Gran Columna Fogosa, San Basilio Magno,* of 1629 [3].

According to this legend the devil pact would date from the fourth century when the saint lived. We may safely assume,

1. A. Jubinal : *Nouveau Recueil de Contes, Dits, Fabliaux, et Autres Pièces Inédites des XIIIe, XIVe et XVe siècles.* Paris, 1835, vol. I, p. 118.
2. *Bib. Aut. Esp.*, vol. LVII.
3. Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo's Span. Acad. ed. of Lope, vol. IV.

however, that this pact is of a later date and belongs really to the Theophilus cycle. The underlying idea of both legends is practically the same. A man makes an agreement with the devil and is subsequently freed from his obligation by divine intervention, in one case through the intercession of the Virgin, in the other through the mediation of a saint of the Church. The motive for making the pact is different, however. Theophilus sought ecclesiastical honors, the slave of Proterius carnal love. It seems to me that there is here for the first time, a combination of the Theophilus and Cyprian legends. Cyprian as we shall see later went to the devil for aid in the conquest of Justina, who had also made a vow of chastity.

Attributed to this same century, we find in the Spanish peninsula another legend belonging to this cycle. Aegidius, or Frey Gil, who according to Del Rio died in 1265, is the hero [1]. Aegidius is the protagonist of Mira de Mescua's play, *El Esclavo del Demonio*, which will be discussed later [2]. Del Rio cites Hernando de Castilla [3] and Villegas [4] as his authorities. Gil was the son of a Portugese nobleman. He took orders and studied logic, philosophy, and medicine, leading meanwhile a wild, riotous life. He seems to have pursued his studies not from a desire for learning, but from curiosity. Wishing to perfect his knowledge of medicine, he set out for Paris, but on the way he met the devil who beguiled him into going instead to a cave near Toledo where he might study magic. There, in exchange for lessons in the black arts, he denounced his faith, denied baptism, and signed a pact with the devil written with blood. He remained at Toledo seven years, and then went on to Paris where he eventually received his

1. *Disq. Mag.*, Bk. VI, cap. 2, sec. 3, quæst. 3.
2. Cf. M. A. Buchanan's, ed., Baltimore, 1905, and its excellent introduction.
3. *Historia General de S. Domingo y de su Orden*, Madrid, 1584.
4. *Flos Sanctorum*, Madrid, 1589.

degree in medicine. He was by that time a renowned magician and physician, but lived a life of vice and iniquity. One day there suddenly appeared before him a knight riding furiously on a black charger who commanded Gil to abandon at once his wicked ways. Terrified by this apparition, he repented of his sins, and ultimately went to Portugal where he entered a monastery. There he spent another seven years praying for forgiveness, tortured by fiery bands of demons who tried to lead him astray again. At length through the mediation of the Holy Virgin, the devil was forced to give up the written pact. This hero lived to perform many beneficent deeds, and died in the odor of sanctity.

As far as I have been able to make out, the first known account of the Frey Gil legend is that of Hernando de Castilla, of 1584. It would be interesting to find the manuscript mentioned by the biographers of Gil, so that we might know exactly where to place the legend [1]. It is probably another case of a « lost manuscript » which never existed, and we can safely assume that the legend belongs to the time when it first appeared in printed form, namely the latter part of the sixteenth century. To my mind, the Gil legend represents the closest approach, in the literature of southern Europe to the Faust legend. Gil is a composite of Theophilus and Faust. Like Theophilus he was a prelate of the Church ; he entered into a pact with the devil, repented later, and had his pact returned to him through the intervention of the Virgin. Like Faust, he was a student of philosophy and medicine, he led a wandering, riotous life, finally making a contract for a stipulated number of years with the devil who in return taught him magic. He was famed for his knowledge of the black arts, and like Faust, he was warned that he would be doomed if he

1. Cf. Buchanan's introduction to Mira de Mescua's play for a discussion of this point.

did not repent. Here the similarity ends. Faust refused to repent and was damned : Gil, like Theophilus, was saved [1].

To me Gil and Faust are both characters exemplifying the deep thirst for knowledge of the Renaissance, a period when any manifestation of profound learning was likely to be interpreted as evidence of an understanding with the devil. The sharp theological distinction so often pointed out by critics is to my mind exaggerated, the Protestant Faust damned, the Catholic Gil saved. Faust had a chance to save his soul by repenting ; he was warned by the writing *Homo Fuge* on his arm. He had still another opportunity to give up his sinful life when he was drawing near the twenty-fourth year of his pact. The old man of the *Faust Buch* told him that if he would repent he would be saved, even as was Simon Magus in the *Acts of the Apostles*. Another point of dissimilarity in the two characters is that Faust conjured up the devil, whereas Gil was tempted by him. In the *Faust Buch*, moreover, the adventures of Doctor Faustus are more elaborated than those of Gil, but the germ in both legends is the same. Furthermore the adventures of Faust are but the sequel in the Renaissance of the tales of the resuscitated magician Virgil of the Middle Ages.

Now that we have traced Theophilus down to the threshold of the seventeenth century, let us turn to Cyprian and Justina, martyrs of Antioch of the third century. There are two distinct versions of this legend. The first has come down to us in a history of the lives of the saints which was made known to Western Europe through a Greek version of Metaphrastes written in the tenth century, and later translated into Latin by Lipomanus [2].

The first rendering begins with an account of the miraculous

1. Cf. Theophile Braga's, *Estudios da Edade Media, Lenda do Doutor Fausto*, p. 89.

2. Cf. *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists, Sept. of vol. VII.

conversion to Christianity of Justina and her parents. A certain youth Aglaidas, having seen her on her way to church, fell in love with her and asked her hand in marriage. He was informed by her parents that she had made a vow of chastity. Trying to overcome her by force, Aglaidas was repulsed through the power of Justina's cross. He then went for help to Cyprian, a famous magician of Antioch, who immediately summoned a demon to give him counsel. The demon bade Aglaidas spread an ointment over Justina's house, a charm which would render her powerless to resist him. But Justina turned to her cross, and the demon was routed. A second demon was summoned who failed in his turn. Finally the prince of devils was called in. Taking the form of the Virgin, he ingeniously tried to persuade Justina that God has commanded us to increase and multiply. Justina was on the point of being convinced, when suddenly she realized that she was being tempted by the devil in disguise. Thus he too was defeated. Cyprian then forced the devil to confess why he and his menials had failed. The prince of devils, much against his will, at length admitted that he was powerless against the cross of Christ. Thereupon Cyprian became converted to Christianity, and later met martyrdom with Justina. There is no mention in this version of any love existing between Cyprian and Justina.

The second rendering of the Cyprian legend is that of Gregorius Nazienze, an archbishop of Constantinople who lived in the fourth century [1]. This account is simpler than the first and begins with a long preamble in praise of Cyprian, who is confused with a bishop of Carthage of the same name, an error which those who followed this version pointed out. In his youth, this Cyprian was given to magic. Falling in love with the beautiful Virgin, Justina, he called to his aid the demon of lust, who was

1. Cf. Migne : *Pat. Græc.*, vol. XXXV. Cf. also a Latin translation of Gregorius Nazienze : *Opera omnia*, Paris.

unsuccessful in his attempts to conquer her. Finding that the demon was powerless against the cross, Cyprian became a convert to Christianity, and rose in time to the rank of bishop. Both Cyprian and Justina, as in the Lipomanus account were ultimately martyred. The main points of difference between the two renderings are that the second is told with less elaboration of detail, there is no mention there of Aglaidas, and, what is still more important, Cyprian himself falls in love with Justina.

M. Morel-Fatio, in his discussion of the sources of Calderón's *Mágico Prodigioso,* says that he thinks the Latin version of Lipomanus was used as the principal source [1]. Schmidt [2], Von Schack [3], and Menéndez y Pelayo [4] are also of this opinion. M. Morel-Fatio goes on to say that he is led to this belief because he can find no version of the legend in the vernacular in Spain, not even in the best known lives of the saints, the *Flos Sanctorum* of Villegas or that of Ribadeneira. Sanchez Moguel in his *Memoria Acerca del Mágico Prodigioso* [5] points out eleven Spanish versions of the legend preceding the *Mágico Prodigioso.* Six of them he gives in his appendix. Among them are the two versions of Ribadeneira and Villegas, which M. Morel-Fatio could not find. Furthermore in Cayrasco de Figueroa's *Templo Militante* [6], a sort of rhymed *sanctorum,* there is a poem in octaves on the lives of Cyprian and Justina. It is an apotheosis of the love and martyrdom of the two characters, and was either based directly

1. Introduction to ed. of *Mágico Prodigioso,* Heilbronn, 1877.

2. F. W. V. Schmidt: *Die Schauspiele Calderons,* 1857, p. 349.

3. *Geschichte der Dramatischen Literatur und Kunst in Spanien,* vol. III, p. 120, note.

4. Biblioteca Clásica. *Teatro Selecto de Calderón,* introduction.

5. This book (Madrid, 1881), though a very uneven piece of work is in spite of severe criticisms, one of the most valuable studies of Calderon's play ever published.

6. The third ed. 1615, contains the lives of our saints. I am indebted to Sanchez Moguel for knowledge of the existence of this poem.

on Gregory's version or upon a Spanish version of Ortiz Lucio, which was taken from Gregory. There is no mention of Aglaidas in this poem.

In addition to all these, there is an analogous legend in the account of the lives of San Luciano and San Marciano [1], which seems to me none other than the Cyprian legend transplanted on Spanish soil. During the reign of the emperor Decius, two gentile magicians, Luciano and Marciano, made a pact with the devil. Their lives were filled with wicked deeds, and they committed many acts of violence. Finally a virgin, who had made a vow of chastity, repulsed their attacks with a prayer to Christ. Seeing the power of the God of the Christians, the two magicians were converted and suffered martyrdom. There seems to be a divergence of opinion as to where these events took place. A local legend claims that the two magicians lived at Vich, in the province of Barcelona, and that they were buried in the church there. Another report has it that they lived in Nicodemia and that their remains were brought to Vich. However this may be, their remains were discovered under a church near Vich in 1050. If we substitute the names Luciano and Marciano for Aglaidas and Cyprian we have substantially the Cyprian legend; the magic element, the virgin who makes a vow of chastity, the conversion of the unbelievers, and their final martyrdom. Nicodemia is in Asia Minor, so is Antioch. Decius was also emperor at the time of the martyrdom of Cyprian and Justina, according to Gregory and Calderón. It is important to note the appearance of the devil pact in this apochryphal legend, for as such we must accept it. In the Cyprian legend no actual compact is made.

Thus, in addition to the eleven Spanish versions found in *santorales* and *flores sanctorum*, there existed also one other version

1. Menéndez y Pelayo points this out in his *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, vol. I, p. 254. For an account of this legend, Cf. E. Florez: *España Sagrada*, vol. XXVIII, p. 209 ff.

in verse and an analogous transplanted legend, all before the appearance of Calderón's *Mágico Prodigioso*. It would seem very unlikely that Calderón should have gone back to a Latin version for his plot when he had so much material at hand in the vernacular. Of the three latest versions which Calderón had at his disposal, two follow the Gregory text, one is in the *Flos Sanctorum* of Villegas (1594) and the other is in the *Compendio de Vidas de Santos* of Ortiz Lucio (1597). The third is found in Ribadeneira's *Flos Sanctorum* (1601) and is modelled on the Lipomanus text.

Sanchez Moguel and Krenkel [1] are of the opinion that Calderon did not go back to the Lipomanus text, but based his play either on the Villegas or Lucio accounts. Sanchez favors the Lucio theory. Independent of these two theories, after reading carefully all versions preceding the *Mágico Prodigioso*, I have come to the conclusion that for his Cypriano material, Calderón drew from Lucio, although he very possibly knew the earlier versions.

Before giving my reasons for this conviction, let me outline briefly Calderón's plot. Cypriano is a young pagan philosopher of Antioch who is introduced to us in the opening scene studying in a secluded spot the meaning of a passage in Pliny on the definition of God. The devil, disguised as a traveller who has lost his way, meets Cypriano and there ensues a long, scholastic discussion on the nature of God, in which the devil who champions the pagan doctrines acknowledges himself defeated. He departs vowing that he will ruin Cypriano and make him forsake his philosophical studies by tempting him with a beautiful virgin, Justina, whom he also wishes to destroy.

Lelio and Florio, galanes, rivals for Justina's hand, are about to fight a duel near by, when they are stopped by Cypriano who promises to find out from Justina who the favored one is.

1. In *Klassische Bühnendichtungen der Spanier*, introduction to *Der Wunderthätige Zauberer*, vol. II, p. 73 ff.

Meeting Justina, he too finds himself enflamed with love for her, and completely forgets his studies. Justina repulses all three, but importuned later by Cypriano, she tells him that she can love him only after death [1]. Soliloquizing over his love, he cries out that he would give his soul to the devil to possess Justina. Whereupon the invisible devil exclaims, « I accept. » Soon after, he appears in the guise of a shipwrecked traveller and asks Cypriano for shelter, promising to teach him the wonders of magic in return. Cypriano, delighted at the prospect of learning magic, welcomes him heartily. Some time later, seeing Cypriano in a very disconsolate mood, he inquires the reason. Cypriano confesses his love for Justina, reiterating his willingness to sell his soul to the devil if he might win her. The devil offers to teach his host how to get Justina in his power, and when Cypriano is sceptical, he causes a mountain to disappear to prove his supernatural skill. Then in order to tempt the lover with a more alluring proof, he presents to Cypriano's startled gaze the sleeping form of the virgin. Cypriano, now convinced, signs a pact with blood by the terms of which, in return for his soul, the devil is to teach him magic in a certain cave for a year, at the end of the stipulated time, he is to possess Justina.

The appointed time having arrived, Cypriano demands his prize. The devil tries to lure Justina into the impatient lover's arms, but is unsuccessful. He then takes the form of Justina and attempts to deceive Cypriano, but when the latter is about to embrace his supposed beloved, he finds a skeleton covered with a cloak. Reproaching the devil for his deceit, he forces him to confess that his failure was due to Justina's trust in the true God against whom he is powerless. The terrified student realizes that he is the slave of the devil, who in accordance with the terms of

1. In *Los Amantes del Cielo*, a play by Calderón similar to this one in some respects, Daria makes a like promise to Crisanto.

their compact prepares to carry his victim off to hell. But Cypriano calling upon the God of the Christians for help, is saved. The lovers meet martyrdom later during a violent tempest in which the devil appears, asserting that he had been sent by God to proclaim that Cypriano and Justina had been received into the heavenly kingdom.

In M. Morel-Fatio's edition of Calderón's unfinished draft of the play, a prologue or *loa* precedes the first act. In this, the devil appears on a chariot of flames drawn by dragons and announces that he has permission from God to tempt Justina, a beautiful Christian virgin, and Cypriano, a learned youth, who was on the verge of accepting Christianity. This is a forerunner of Goethe's *Prolog im Himmel,* which Goethe tells was suggested to him by the *Book of Job.* We cannot establish any connection between the Spanish and German plays because not only does Goethe fail to mention the *Mágico Prodigioso,* although he knew others of Calderón's plays, but he could not have seen this *loa* since it was in manuscript form until 1879. It must be also borne in mind that the *Mágico Prodigioso* was not among Calderón's best known works. It is since Goethe's time that it has come to be overpraised by enthusiastic critics [1]. The Spanish prologue too seems Jobian in conception, but I think I can see the germ of it in Lucio, whom I have mentioned as Calderón's immediate source.

« Ay de ti », begins Lucio's account, « dice Isaias hablando del demonio, y del q̄ es su miembro: ay de ti, que andas e haces gente para el infierno, andas en caça de almas, y por ahi te ha de caçar, andas en hacer mal, y encarnas venganças y escupes al cielo y cō los mismos instrumentos con que hazes mal, te ha de hazer mal, y con lo que pensauas y pretendias ganar, has de perder. »

1. Notably the Schlegels and Karl Rosenkranz in his *Ueber die Tragödie vom Wunderthätigen Magus,* Halle, 1829.

The devil is like a bound greyhound, this version goes on to say, who can bite only those who want to be bitten. Calderón's devil is certainly a bound greyhound. He is not only defeated at every turn, but he freely acknowledges his defeat. Again I find in Lucio a suggestion of a devil pact, the first in any of the Cyprian legends. It will be remembered that in the other accounts, Cyprian is a magician who calls up the devil. Lucio says, « Cypriano.....llamó a los demonios y pidioles ablandassen el coraçon de Iustina, pues en pago desto el les avia dado su alma, que es lo que ellos pretendian. » Both Calderón's play and Lucio's story seem to be an apotheosis of the triumph of free will over the powers of evil. Neither mentions Aglaidas and both exalt the love of Cypriano and Justina.

The general contention made, and elaborated especially by M. Morel-Fatio, for supposing that Calderón drew his inspiration from the Metaphrastes-Lipomanus version is that the two *galanes,* Florio and Lelio, are his substitution for Aglaidas. I think this alleged resemblance is far-fetched, two insignificant rivals are not necessarily suggested by one lover. Calderón scarcely needed a suggestion to introduce a rival or rivals, his plots abound in them. No matter how serious or lofty his subject, we inevitably find in Calderón, the most conventional of the Golden Age dramatists, the jealous *galán.* To me there is absolutely no suggestion of Aglaidas, the youth who goes to Cyprian for magic help, in Florio and Lelio, the two pale figures, rivals for the hand of Justina, who are so completely overshadowed by Cypriano's great love. Moreover if we accept the fact that Calderón drew from the Gregory text, represented by the version of Lucio, we need not try to explain the absence of Aglaidas.

To my mind Calderón's most important addition to the legend is the devil pact, already suggested by Lucio and possibly by the story of Luciano and Marciano. The devil pact signed with blood is as M. Morel-Fatio says, an anachronism, but so is the

whole play. The names and events are of the third century, but all the characters, the devil included, are contemporaries of Calderón. Cypriano is not at all a pagan philosopher, he is a seventeenth century *galán*. He uses the same arguments that a contemporary of Calderón might have used to defend Christianity.

Where did Calderón get the suggestion for the elaboration of the devil pact motif? From Mira de Mescua's *Esclavo del Demonio* [1], published in 1612, a dramatized version of the Gil legend which has already been discussed. Mescua made one innovation. Beside the prospect of learning magic, Gil sells his soul to the devil in order to possess Leonor, also a virgin who has made a vow of chastity. It will be remembered that we already had the love motif in the Theophilus cycle in the St. Basil legend of Proterius and the slave. Von Schack [2] and Krenkel were the first to point out the resemblance between the *Mágico Prodigioso* and the *Esclavo del Demonio*, but when Krenkel tries to show that Calderón borrowed also from Mescua's *Hermitaño Galan* [4], and Guillen de Castro's *Santa Barbara*, he overshoots the mark. Simply because characters in these plays have relations with the devil, and as in the *Santa Barbara* make pacts with blood, we need not jump immediately to the conclusion that Calderón borrowed from them.

We find relations with the devil in very analogous situations in Lope de Vega's *Columna Fogosa*, the dramatized version of the St. Basil legend, and in Alarcón's *Quien Mal Anda En Mal*

1. Cf. Buchanan's ed. cited above.
2. *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 464.
3. *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 73 ff.
4. There are two distinct plays with this same name confused by La Barrera and by Ticknor who quotes him. Mescua's play is found in vol. XXXIX of *Comedias Escogidas*, Madrid, 1653-79. The other play of the same name is by Zabaleta, and is found in vol. V, of the same collection. The second play is of a later date than the first.

Acaba, of 1602 [1], which really presents a closer similarity to the *Mágico Prodigioso* than do either the *Santa Barbara* or the *Hermitaño Galan*, but which I should not care to assume that Calderón knew. There is, moreover a play with a like motif by Calderón himself, *Las Cadenas del Demonio* [2]. Plays of this type were not at all uncommon during the Golden Age.

In what way does the *Mágico Prodigioso* resemble the *Esclavo del Demonio?* In act II, line 1432 of the *Esclavo*, we read :

Gil : Por goçar de ti, Leonor,
daré el alma
Angelio (the devil) : Yo la aceto.

Compare these lines with the following from the *Mágico Prodigioso*, act II, line 1584 :

Cypriano : Por goçar á esta mujer
Diera el alma.
Demonio : Yo la aceto [3].

Neither Gil nor Cypriano knew that it was the devil with whom he was making his contract, and in both cases the devil was « vestido de galan ». In the *Esclavo*, the compact is made on the spot and is more effective, but in the *Mágico*, the act is padded and the actual pact is not signed until later when the challenge

1. We find in this play the devil's trick of appearing to come out of a lady's house secretly but so as to be seen by her lover. This device is also employed by Calderón. We find here, too, the magic mirror, used in a situation similar to that in the Mágico, where the devil presents Justina to Cypriano's view, but these are all part and parcel of the magic paraphernalia of the period. Sanchez Moguel sins the other way when he ignores Mescua's *Esclavo del Demonio* in his discussion of Calderón's sources,

2. In this play, a pagan woman, Irene, makes a pact with the devil from whose « chains » she is saved by Saint Bartholemew who converts her to Christianity.

3. Cf. Krenkel : *Op. cit.*, Einleitung, p. 75.

is repeated and the force of the situation much weakened. The devil promises to teach both magic and to deliver over Leonor and Justina, both of whom had made vows of chastity. In neither case was the devil conjured up, and both students were to study magic « en una cueva ». In the *Esclavo*, it is the « cueva de Toledo. » In Calderón's play, the scene is at Antioch, and we find simply « cueva ». Both Gil and Cypriano become slaves of the devil. Cypriano, line 2636, says, « Confieso que soy tu esclavo ». Gil says, line 1568, « Tu esclavo para siempre quedo hecho. » Later in line 3071, Cypriano exclaims, « Esclavo yo del demonio ? », the very title of Mescua's play.

The next great point of resemblance I find in an incident which Calderón may have taken from the Cyprian story in the *Legenda Aurea* [1], or from a fourteenth century Spanish version, which Sanchez Moguel has included in his appendix, and which I am inclined to believe is a copy of the *Legenda Aurea* text [2]. The incident common to both is the deception practised by the devil in assuming the forms of Justina and Leonor. In both cases, when the lovers are about to embrace their sweethearts, they each find a skeleton wrapped in a cloak. It is their revulsion of feeling that makes both doubt the power of the devil. This is a very common motif in Spanish literature and in spite of what non-Catholic critics have said to the contrary, it is a powerful *coup de théâtre* which is not at all repulsive to a Spanish audience.

To discuss the last important point of resemblance between the two plays, we must turn to M. Morel-Fatio's edition of the unfinished fragment of the third act. In the completed text of the

1. Cf. ed. Graesse, Leipzig, 1850, cap. CXLII.

2. I find only a very slight discrepancy. Instead of Aglaidas who in the *Legenda Aurea* takes the form of a bird but who must change to his original form in Justina's presence, it is Cyprian who undergoes the transformation. As this incident is found only in the *Legenda Aurea*, I feel sure that the early Spanish account was modelled on it.

play, the martyrdom follows closely after the conversion. In the first draft, it is evident that Calderón originally intended to have Cypriano recover the written pact. He sees in a vision just as Gil does, the struggle for the paper between the forces of the angels and devils. In Mescua's play an angel returns the pact to Gil, in Cypriano's case, while the angel comforts him and is about to return the pact, the act abruptly comes to an end. This vision of a struggle between angels and devils is original with Mira de Mescua. In most of the Theophilus stories, it is the Virgin Mary herself who restores the pact. Thus it would seem that along with other suggestions, Calderón borrowed this idea also from Mira de Mescua.

Besides these essential points of resemblance, I accidentally hit upon another. In the facsimile of the first page of Calderón's manuscript, reproduced in M. Morel-Fatio's edition, after the word « Demonio » in the cast of characters, « Angel » is crossed out. *Angelio* is the name of Mescua's devil. It looks as tho Calderón at first intended to call his devil *Angelio* also.

But the resemblances on which I wish to lay greatest stress are the incidents connected with the devil pacts. In both plays the protagonists are students tempted by the devil to whom they agree to sell their souls. Both make compacts signed with blood; both are to be taught magic and gain possession of a woman; both receive their instruction in the black arts in a cave, and in both cases they become slaves of the devil. Calderón's Cyprian varies from the old conception of this character in two respects: (1) his Cypriano is not a magician when we first meet him, (2) he makes a pact with the devil in order to learn magic and gain possession of a woman, thus following Mescua's Gil and incidentally the conventional motive for making pacts with the devil in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is evident then that Calderón's *Mágico Prodigioso* is a combination of the Cyprian legend and the Theophilus story as found in Mira de Mescua's *Esclavo del Demonio*.

I have already stated that Gil seemed to me very like Doctor Faustus. What is the relation between Calderón's Cypriano and the Doctor Faustus of the Renaissance? — not Goethe's Faust, for all comparison between these two characters is and always must remain futile. Calderón's Cypriano and Goethe's Faust belong to distinctly different ages. They were remotely separated, more separated than the years show, for Calderón was essentially a man of his day: he incarnates the spirit of seventeenth century Spain. Goethe, on the contrary, was a man who was years ahead of his time. Between the two, there lie insurmountable differences of epoch and inspiration.

Does Calderón's Cypriano resemble Doctor Faustus in any way? No. Faustus is the wandering scholar, the loose-living conjuror of the Renaissance; Cypriano is the pagan philosopher on the threshold of Christianity. He makes a pact, it is true, to gain possession of a woman, but we are not concerned with his conjuror's tricks as is the case with Faustus. It is the struggle between the power of pagan magic and the Christian faith in God that holds our attention, abstract ideas represented by Cypriano and Justina. For unlike his contemporaries, Marlowe's Faust and Tirso de Molina's Don Juan, Calderón's Cypriano is not one of the world's great literary characters. But if we have not powerful character drawing in the *Mágico Prodigioso*, we have at least the conception of a lofty idea, the power of man's own volition to overcome temptation and to win grace. Cypriano and Faust have nothing in common but the devil pact, a pact introduced into the legend by Calderón, and suggested by a seventeenth century version of the Theophilus story, which is in all probability the source also of the pact in the Faust legend. Once we take out of consideration this devil pact which probably goes back to a common source, all analogy between Faustus and Cypriano ceases.

CHAPTER III.

ENRIQUE DE VILLENA, THE MAGICIAN.

I. VILLENA IN HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.

Enrique de Villena, better known in Spanish tradition as the Marqués de Villena, was Spain's contribution of a sage transformed into a magician to the Europe of the Renaissance. Unlike Virgil and Faust, Villena's reputation was almost entirely local. I shall endeavor to trace in this study, first the historical accounts of Villena's life and works in their connection with the black arts, and then their development in legend and literature.

Enrique de Villena was born in 1384, the son of Pedro of Aragon and Juana of Castile, an illegitimate daughter of Enrique II. Very little is known of his early life except that he was more given to study than to knightly feats of arms. His father having died when he was a year old, and his mother having remarried, he was brought up by his paternal grandfather, Don Alfonso of Aragon.

Through some pretext, Enrique III. had despoiled Alfonso of several estates, and when Enrique, the grandson, came into the succession, he found his patrimony still further depleted by the rapacious monarch. He never obtained the marquisate, with which legend has credited him. Before he had completed his twentieth year, he married María de Albornoz, daughter of the « mayordomo mayor » of Enrique II. His wife attracted the king's fancy and became his mistress. In order to placate and silence Villena, Enrique made him Conde de Cangas y Tineo.

But he was not long a Conde. The « maestrazgo » of Cala-

trava having become vacant, Villena sought the position. In order to hold this office, it would be necessary to give up his wife and the newly acquired estates. This he did, and obtained the « maestrazgo », his wife meanwhile having sued for divorce on the ground of his impotence — an absurd excuse since he left two illegitimate daughters. This fact however did not save him from the ridicule which naturally followed such an accusation. But the unlucky Villena was not permitted to continue in the enjoyment of his ecclesiastical dignity. He had never received a unanimous welcome from the members of the order on account of the scandal attached to his appointment, and in 1406, when Enrique III. died, they refused him obedience. It was not until 1414, however, after a long and bitter struggle, that Villena was officially deposed and his divorce annulled.

That same year, we find him at Barcelona at the Consistorio de la Gaya Ciencia, where he wrote his *Arte de Trobar*, of which only fragments remain. He spent most of the rest of his life in obscure retirement, giving himself up to study and writing. Having lost both his countship and « maestrazgo, » he then possessed only an insignificant estate at Torralba. To 1417 belongs his *Trabajos de Hércules*, and to 1423 his *Arte Cisoria*. The *Libro del Aojamiento* was finished in 1425. He also translated the *Aeneid* and the *Divina Commedia*, two landmarks in the renaissance of Spanish letters. Several writers speak of his poetical works, none of which have come down to us. He died of gout in 1434 [1].

While at first sight the incidents of Villena's life, unusual as they were, do not seem to offer material on which a reputation for magic powers might be based, yet there were circumstances which viewed in the light of the prejudices of his day, might have given rise to just such a reputation as posterity has actually

1. Cf. Cotarelo y Mori: *Don Enrique de Villena*, Madrid, 1896.

conferred upon him. In the first place, he was intellectually far superior to his contemporaries in Spain, and that of itself was sufficient reason for his title of magician. His unusual thirst for knowledge, the fact that he preferred quiet study to feats of arms and to the gaieties of court life, to which his rank entitled him, naturally caused him to be regarded with suspicion. Furthermore his secluded habits lent him an air of mystery, giving rise to stories, circulated even during his lifetime, that he had dealings with the devil. He was avowedly interested in astrology, divination, superstitions, and in all things supernatural. He frequently mentions works on astrology and divination, showing his acquaintance with tabooed subjects. The only work of his which has come down to us, having any relations with the supernatural, is his *Libro del Aojamiento ó fascinología* [1], an unfinished treatise written about 1411.

This work gives us an excellent insight into Villena's critical mind. He was more curious than scholarly, more of a pedant than an original thinker. He paraded his learning on every possible occasion, and honeycombed his work with copious quotations from Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, and Latin authorities. He evidently believed in the power of the evil eye, and in cures for it, in so far as they were not forbidden by the Church. « Tomad de todo esto lo bueno, » he says toward the end of his work, « es á saber lo que la Iglesia universal ha por bueno é consiente vuestro cuerpo, mucho mas lo aparte vuestra anima de pecado viviendo virtuosamente. » Not only does he, in this treatise, advocate the use of remedies prescribed by the authorities he quotes, but he condemns his contemporaries for refusing to believe in them. « Los fisicos de ahora saben de esto poco porque desdeñan la cura de tal enfermedad, diciendo que es obra de mu-

1. Cf. *Revista Contemporánea*, vol. IV, 1876, p. 405 ff. for a text published by Rafael Floranes. Cf. also Cotarelo y Mori, *op. cit.*, chap. IV.

jeres, y tienenlo en poco é por eso no alcanzan las diferencias é secretos de ellos que se alcanzan en parando en ello mientes [1]. »

A treatise entitled *Tractado de Astrologia*, long credited to him, is no longer believed to be his. A lengthy gloss found in a copy of the *Aeneid* which once belonged to Villena in which he separates the forbidden arts into forty divisions is interesting.

« E la cabeza y totalidat de las vedadas sciencias es la mágia, de la cual salieron quatro principales, que son matemática, prestigio, maleficio, encantacion. De matemática salieron nueve, que son : ydromancia, piromancia, geomancia, spatulmancia, fulguraria, ciromancia, tremularia, sonorotica y auspicium. De prestigio salieron seys, que son : absconsoria, pulsoria, ludybra. De maleficio salieron dies que son : mediaria, sopniaria, invocatoria, nigromancia, stricatoria, fíbrica extoria, sortilejo, amatoria, vastatoria. De la encantacion salieron tres, que son : empérica, imprecatoria, ligatoria. De nigromancia salieron quatro, que son : atromancia, conomancia, pedoxomancia, aromancia. De stricatoria salieron dos, que son : cursoria y fascinatoria. De conomancia salió una, que es litomancia. Y así son cumplidas las cuarenta artes vedadas [2] ».

Villena was then interested in the supernatural wherever it did not lead him from the orthodoxy of the Church or from the traditional authorities of the sciences. He shared the superstitious beliefs of his epoch and was impatient with those who did not. He probably made no attempt to investigate the unknown for himself. He assimilated all that he could find that had been said, and since he had a remarkable gift for languages, the amount of material that he accumulated was stupendous for his time.

One of the chief causes for the spread of Villena's fame was the burning of his library by Lope de Barrientos, at the command of Juan II. Barrientos himself tells us in his *Tractado de Divinar*, speaking of a certain book entitled *Raziel*, « Este libro es aquel

1. p. 419 ff.

2. Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo : *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, vol. I, p. 610.

que despues de la muerte de Don Enrique, tú, como rey cristianissimo mandaste á mí tu siervo y fechura, que lo quemase á vueltas de otros muchos, lo cual yo puse en ejecucion en presencia de algunos tus servidores[1] ». He goes on to say that all the books were not burned; some were preserved so that, in the hands of trustworthy persons, they might be used to defend the Christian religion and to discomfit necromancers and idolaters.

Juan de Mena, Villena's contemporary, laments the loss of this library in his *Laberinto*, which was written ten years after Villena's death.

« Aquel que tu uees estar contemplando
en el mouimiento de tantas estrellas,
la fuerça la orden de aquellas,
que mide los cursos de como y de quando,
y ovo noticia philosophando
del mouedor y los comouidos,
de fuego de rayos de son detronidos,
y supo las causas del mundo uelando.

Aquel claro padre aquel dulce fuente,
aquel que en el castolo monte resuena,
es don Enrrique señor de Villena
honrra de España y del siglo presente
o inclito sabio autor muy sciente
otra y aun otra vegada yo lloro,
porque castilla perdio tal tesoro
no conocido delante la gente.

Perdio los tus libros sin ser conocidos,
y como en exequias te fueron ya luego
unos metidos al auido fuego,
y otros sin orden no bien repartidos
cierto en athenas los libros fingidos
que de protagoras se reprobaron,
con cerimonia se quemaron,
quando al senado le fueron leydos[2] ».

1. Cf. Ticknor's ms. copy of this work in the Boston Public Library, p. 10.
2. Cf. ed. Hernan Nuñez, Anvers, 1552, stanzas 126, 127, 128.

Mena then goes on to treat of magicians and sorceresses, but he does not mention Villena in connection with them. According to Mena, Villena is the only modern « sabio » worthy of a place among the ancients, and he pictures him as an astrologer and philosopher. He accuses Barrientos of burning some of the books without examining them, and disposing of others without authority from the King. What eventually became of the books that were not burned has never been known.

The Marqués de Santillana, in his *Defuncion de Don Enrique de Villena* [1], is hyperbolical in his praises.

« Y bien como templo á quien falleçido
han sus columnas con gran antigor,
y vna tan sola le hace fauor,
así D. Enrique nos ha sostenido :
el qual ha por suyo el cielo elegido,
y puesto en compaña de superno coro :
con todos lloremos tan rico tesoro,
como sin recurso auemos perdido.
. . . . . .
Sabida la muerte d'aquel muy amado,
mayor de los sabios del tiempo presente,
de dolor pungido, lloré tristemente,
y maldixe Antropus, con furia indinado,
y la su crueza que no cata vado,
ni cura de sabio más que de prudente
y haze al menguado ygual al potente,
cortando la tela que Cloto ha hilado ».

Like Mena, Santillana calls Villena a « sabio » in astrology and philosophy ; there is not the slightest insinuation that he practised magic. Fernán Perez de Guzman (1405-1470), whose early life was contemporaneous with Villena's later years, was one of the first to speak disparagingly of Villena and his achieve-

1. Cf. Fernando de Castillo's *Cancionero General*, vol. I, p. 82.

ments. Although he does not actually accuse him of magic practices, he points out that Villena's studies carried him beyond the bounds sanctioned by the Church.

« Naturalmente fué inclinado á las sciencias y artes, mas que á la caballería, é aun á los negocios del mundo civiles ni curiales : tan sotil é alto ingenio había que ligeramente aprendia qualquier sciencia y arte á que se daba..... y porque entre otras sciencias y artes se dió mucho á la Astrología, algunos burlando decian, que sabía mucho en el cielo y poco en la tierra. E ansi en este amor de escrituras, no se deteniendo en las sciencias notables y católicas, dexóse correr á algunas viles ó raeces artes de adivinar é interpretar sueños y esternudos y señales é otras cosas tales, que ni a Principe real, é menos á católico Christiano convenian. Y por esto fué avido en pequeña reputacion de los Reyes de su tiempo, y en poca reverencia de los Caballeros. Todavía fué... muy copioso y mezclado en diversas sciencias. Sabía hablar muchos lenguages [1] ».

In the *Crónica de Don Juan II.*, compiled by this same Perez and others, we find : « El rey mandó que le fuesen traidos todos los libros que tenía (Villena) los cuales mandó que viese Fray Lope de Barrientos, maestro del Principe, é viese si habrá algunos de malas artes : é Fray Lope los miró é hizo quemar algunos é los otros quedaron en su poder. » This last phrase seems to give a simple explanation of a very simple fact. Lope examined Villena's library, burned some of the books and kept others which, singularly enough, he later used in his own work on divination.

The notes in Hernán Nuñez's edition of Juan de Mena, explaining the passage on Villena, are pertinent here. Ticknor dates the work 1499 [2]. Hernán Nuñez is the first to attribute the study of magic to Villena. « Diose al estudio de la sciencia y supo mucho no solo en la poesia, philosophia, astrologia, mas aun en el arte de la magica tanto que se cuentan del

1. *Generaciones y Semblanzas*, cap. XXVIII.
2. Cf. *History of Spanish Literature*, vol. I, p. 348.

cosas marauillosas [1]. » But he does not in any way detract from Villena's intellectual standing. « Despues que ha el autor tratado de los sabios presentes, y pone solo uno, Don Enrique de Villena, porque mas se dauan en los tiempos del autor a otros exercicios que no a la sciencia lo qual aun haze su singular sabiduria mas clara que fue en siglo de tanta ignorancia [2]. »

Commenting on the passage about the burned books, the editor says :

« Este sabio cauellero don Enrriq̄ de Villena siendo de grande saber, segun el autor arriba ha mostrado, dexo muchos libros de varias y diuersas doctrinas entre los quales dexo algunos del arte de la magica : los quales fueron quemados en el monesterio de Santo Domingo el real de Madrid, no por sentencia de don Lope de Barrientos como algunos falsamente piensan : sino por mandado del rey don Juan, y quemolos en el sobre dicho lugar don Lope de Barrientos obispo de Cuenca [3] ».

He then goes on to quote Lope's own statement about the matter, which I have already cited [3]. « En estas palabras, » he continues, « demuestra don Lope de Barrientos auer el quemado los libros de la magica de don Enrriq̄ de Villena, pero no por su sentencia sino por mandamiēto del rey don Juan, el qual segun dizen se arrepintio de auerlos mandado quemar. » This seems fair, open-minded criticism. Although Villena was a sage and philosopher, he did dabble in the black arts, and although Juan II. ordered his suspected books to be burned, he afterward regretted his decree.

Zurita, in his *Anales de la Corona de Aragon* (1610), mentioning Villena's death, says :

« Tuvo una de las mas famosas librerias de todas sciencias que uvo en España que se estimaua por muy rico thesoro ; y como en ello auia muchos

1. Cf. ed. of Antwerp, 1552, p. 138.
2. p. 137.
3. p. 139.
4. Cf. p. 96.

libros de astronomia y alquimia de las quales artes fue temido como escriue Pero Carillo en la Historia, que compuso de aquellos tiempos, por uno de los mayores sabios del mūdo, quemarō muchos como si fueran de nigromancia [1] ».

Mariana refers to Don Pedro de Villena as « padre..... del famoso don Enrique de Villena de quien se tuvo por cierto que por el deseo que tenia de saber, no dudó de aprender el arte condenada de nigromancia [2]. »

Francisco de Rades y Andrada, in his *Cronica de Calatrava*, written early in the seventeenth century, goes farther than the others, and says that Villena was thought to have dealings with the devil.

« Fué grandísimo letrado en sciencias de humanidad, es á saber : en artes liberales, astronomía, geometría, aritmética y otras semejantes... de la judicaria y necromancia supo tanto, que se dizen y leen cosas maravillosas que hazía con tanta admiración de las gentes, que juzgaron tener pacto con el demonio : compuso muchos libros destas sciencias en las quales, aunque avía muchas cosas de gran ingenio y artificio útiles á la República, avía otras de mal exemplo y sospechosas de que su autor tenía el dicho pacto [3] ».

In a work entitled *Centon Epistolario*, a collection of one hundred letters, purporting to have been written by one Bachiller Fernan Gomez de Cibdareal, dated Burgos, 1499, we find a letter addressed to Juan de Mena. This book is now generally regarded as a forgery, belonging to the seventeenth century [4]. I quote the letter here in full because it was long accepted as

1. Vol III, p. 227, ed. Caragoça, 1610.
2. Bk. XIX, chap. 8.
3. Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo : *Antologia*, vol. V, p. XXXVI.
4. The work was first mentioned in 1647. Llaguno, editor of the second edition, first doubted its authenticity. Cf. Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature*, vol. III, p. 415 ff. and Puymaigre : *La Cour Littéraire de Juan II*, vol. 3, p. 167, and an article in *Revue des Questions Historiques*, vol. XI, 1872, p. 526, for a full discussion of this question.

authentic and had a great influence in shaping the tradition about Villena's library :

« No le basto a don henrrique de villena su sauer para no morirse ni tampoco le basto ser tio del rey para no ser llamado por encantador, ha venido al rey el tanto de su muerte, e la conclusion que bos puedo dar sera que asaz don henrrique era sabio de lo que a los otros cunplia en nada supo en lo que le cunplia a el dos carretas son cargadas de los libros que dexo que al rey le han traydo, e porque diz que son magicos e de artes no cunplideras de leer, el rey mando que a la posada de fray lope de barrientos fuesen llevados, e fray lope que mas se cura de andar del principe ca de ser reuisor de nigromançias fizo quemar mas de zien libros ca no los vio el mas que el rey de marroecos, ni mas los entienda ca el dean de çida rodrigo ca son muchos los ca en este tiempo se fan dotos faziendo a otros insipientes e magos, e peor es ca se fazan beatos faziendo a otros nigromantes, tan solo este denuesto no hauia gustado del hado este bueno e manifico señor, muchos otros libros de valia quedaron a fray lope ca no seran quemados ni tornados si Vr. M. me manda una epistola para mostrar al rey para que yo pida a su señoria algunos libros de los de don henrrique para vos, sacaremos de pecado lanima de fray lope, e la anima de Don Henrrique habra gloria ca no sea su heredero aquel ca le ha metido en fama de brujo e nigromante... nuestro señor, etc [1] ».

Again in the seventh letter, addressed to the « virtuoso doctor Periañez del consejo del Rey, » a man who rode a long distance in a very short time was said to have done it « por arte de Don Enrique de Villena, » that is, by magic.

It was in the seventeenth century that the belief in Villena's magic powers reached its height. Not until the eighteenth century, was the Villena of Spanish literature separated from the legendary character, about whom magic tales were circulated. Both Pellicer [2] and Feijoo [3], among others, defend him. « Y lo peor es » says Pellicer, « que no se limitó a su siglo (su fama de nigromantico), sino que se propagó á los siguientes como lo manifiestan tantas hablillas y fábulas que corren aun de él. »

1. N°. LXVI. I have used the Ticknor copy of this spurious edition, Burgos, 1499.

2. *Ensayo de una Bibliotheca*, 1778, p. 65.

3. *Apologia de Algunos Personajes* in *Bib. Aut. Esp.*, vol. LVI, p. 316 ff.

2. VILLENA IN LEGEND AND LITERATURE.

In the foregoing historical and semi-historical accounts, we find already accusations against Villena of magic practices and insinuations of his dealings with the devil. Add to these rumors about him, Villena's secluded life, his abnormal learning, especially in matters closely related in the popular mind with magic, together with the burning of his suspected books, and we have ample material for the more embellished legends which followed. Villena appears in legend and literature under two widely divergent characterizations, both of which find their origin in actual historical accounts of the man. One pictures him in the dignified role of a great sage and poet. The other, which is more common, shows him a skilful magician and powerful nobleman. The evolution of a sage into a magician was not uncommon in the Middle Ages, as is shown by the legends which grew up about Solomon, Aristotle, and Virgil.

The earliest document we have, showing the legendary belief in Villena's magic powers, is a letter from « los veinte sabios cordobeses [1] », addressed to the « muy alto y mui poderoso de la insigne y gloriosa prosapia real el señor D. Henrrique, biblioteca sciencial no conocido por los Reyes de la tierra. » To Villena they turned for help in one of their experiments, for he had penetrated deeper into the secrets of the unknown than any man, and had taught them things they never dreamed of knowing. They well remembered that once, in their presence, he had called to him a flock of doves, and had caused the sun to redden with the « piedra heliotropia. » All that he had foretold with the

1. Cf. José Ramón de Luanco : *La Alquimia en España*, Barcelona, 1889, vol. I, p. 9 ff.

aid of his « piedra chelonites » had come true. Not only had he done all these things, but he had made himself invisible with the « hierba andromeno. » He had produced thunder and rain within a room, and had performed many other wonderful and unusual feats.

This letter is signed by « Los vuestros indignos servidores, humildes discipulos, los XX de la compañia, no para nombrarnos ante la alteza de vuestro saber. » Villena's reply is a long-winded, alchemical disquisition. He had spent many days and nights trying to solve their problem without success, until at last he fell asleep, and dreamed that Hermes, gorgeously attired and mounted on a peacock, appeared before him. The god led him through the five great circles of alchemical transmutations. In the fifth circle, he learned the great alchemical secrets, unknown to man, and was warned not to tell them to anyone, except those worthy of such knowledge.

We have no ground for supposing that this allegorical missive comes from Villena. Its extravagant conception strongly suggests the spirit of the Virgilius Cordubensis[1]. There is no documentary evidence to support the assumption that Villena was actually interested in alchemy, altho he may have studied it. The correspondence is important chiefly because it shows the popular opinion of him during his lifetime. It may have been the basis of some of the later developments of the Villena legends.

In the realm of folk-lore it is peculiarly difficult to establish any chronological sequence. It is very often evident that a tale belongs to a much earlier period than that in which its written form appears. We have no alternative, however, but to follow, as far as possible, the dates of the actual appearance of our material. In this particular instance, except for historical or pseudo-historical records which attribute magic powers to Villena, I find

1. See Chapter I, of this study for a discussion of the Virgil of Cordova.

no written material on the Villena legend, after the appearance of this letter and its reply, until the sixteenth century.

Luis de Pinedo, in his *Libro de los Chistes* [1] of the sixteenth century, tells the following tale. Suero de Quiñones who guarded the famous pass, and Diego, his brother, asked Villena to call up the devil for them. He refused at first, but at last yielded to their insistence. He invited them for dinner one day, arranging with the devil to serve them as waiter. The devil so impressed Suero with the excellence of his service that the latter remarked to Diego, « He is the finest fellow I have ever seen. » The dinner over, they asked Villena who his waiter was. Villena simply laughed. The waiter came into the room where Villena and his guests had withdrawn, and stationed himself there, calmly leaning against the wall. Again Suero asked who he was. Villena smiled and answered, « The Devil. » Suero turned and looked at the pretended waiter again, but overcome with the realization that he was in the presence of the devil, he covered his face with his hands, crying out, « Oh, Jesus, Jesus ! » Whereupon, he fell to the ground and was carried away in a swoon. Imagine what would have happened to him if he had seen the devil in his actual terrifying and loathsome form.

Another anecdote is told by Roman de la Higuera [2]. Some courtiers were engaged in a dispute in the presence of the king over the respective valor of Achilles and Hector. The partisans on each side became so heated that at length they came to blows. The King attempted to pacify them by separating them. Seeing that neither side would give in, Don Enrique de Aragon, Marques de Villena, called also « el Astrólogo, » a great defender of Hector, cried out : « Let us see whether these ' aquilistas ' are as brave in actions as they are in speech. » Scarcely had he spoken

1. In Paz y Melia : *Sales Españolas*. Serie I, Madrid, 1890, p. 272.
2. In his *Historia de Toledo*. Cf. Cotarelo y Mori, *op. cit.* p. 133.

when they beheld, entering the room, a phantom with flames issuing from its mouth. « Who of you dares to say that Achilles was braver than Hector ? » shouted the spectre, in a hoarse, fearful voice. And those who had been loudest in upholding Achilles were the first to take to their heels and flee [1].

It is natural that the great play-writing age of Spain should have produced works utilizing the fertile material furnished by the incidents, real and supposed, of Villena's life. The first play, of the Villena cycle, is an amateurish piece of student work by Alarcón. It is entitled *La Cueva de Salamanca*, and is one of his earliest productions, having been written about 1600 [2]. It is a confused jumble of magic tales, centering about Villena's adventures at Salamanca. The play has very little literary merit. It interests us mainly because it contains a mass of magic material, undigested by the youthful author. Chronologically, it is important, since it is the first to tell the tales about Villena which were used by later writers.

The plot is very flimsy. It is little more than a peg, on which magic tricks are hung. Two students of Salamanca are sought by the police for having participated in a midnight escapade in which the chief « alguacil » is killed and the « corregidor » wounded. Don Garcia is captured, but Don Diego, in his flight, stumbles upon the cave of Salamanca, whose magician, Enrico, rescues him, and by the aid of his magic power renders him and his servant, Zamudio, invisible to their pursuers. The Marqués de Villena, who has come to Salamanca from Madrid, falls in with Diego and Enrico. Garcia, who is a kinsman of Villena, is freed by Diego through magic, which he has learned from the

1. Luis de Zapata, in his *Carlo Famoso*, Canto XXXI, speaking of magic, says,

« La supo don Enrique de Villena
Qu'entrar à Hetor y à Achiles hizo arma. »

2 In *Bib. Aut. Esp.*, vol. XX, p. 83.

two masters Enrico and the Marqués. Meanwhile Enrico has been arrested and is about to be tried for illicit magic practices. He is defeated in a debate on magic by the « pesquisidor, » but confesses his guilt and is pardoned. The play closes with an apology of the Gran Marqués de Villena.

The following words, addressed to Villena by Diego, are puzzling, since they imply that he is not the great Villena, but a descendant, possibly a son. Don Diego calls him « Gran Don Enrique, » but adds,

> « Que sois quien del Gran Maestre
> El valor y sangre hereda. »

Also, in the apology at the end, the Marqués of the play speaks of the « Gran Marqués de Villena » whose memory he wishes to vindicate. It would seem as if Alarcón separated the Maestre de Calatrava from the Villena, who, according to legend, studied in the magic cave of Salamanca. It will be remembered that Feijoo also tells of a son of the Marqués de Villena who studied in the cave at Salamanca [1]. Villena, as a matter of fact, left no son, only two illegitimate daughters. The creation of this character is probably one of the embellishments which time gave to the actual facts of Villena's life.

In Alarcón's play, Villena has come to Salamanca in search of the cave, whose fame has reached his ears. He is eager to see the magic head, and to find out the truth about the story of the seven students who study in the cave and draw lots to see which one shall remain behind.

It is perfectly logical that Villena, the magician, should have come to study magic at Salamanca, where legend had placed a school of magic. The same explanation holds good for the placing of Villena's underground study at Toledo [2]. The play goes

1. Cf. chap. I, of this study.
2. Cf. *Ibid.*

on to tell that he had been to Salamanca before as a student, and although « amante de las ciencias, » was lured away by the call of arms to Italy. There he encountered Merlin, « hijo del diablo, » who taught him

« los efetos
Y cursos de las estrellas;
. . . . . .
Las quirománticas lineas
. . . . . .
Y por remate de todo,
La arte mágica me enseña,
De cuyo efeto las causas
No alcanza la humana ciencia,
Pues con caracteres vanos
Y con palabras ligeras
Obra prodigios, que admira
La misma naturaleza [1] ».

Zamudio, who is incredulous of the magic powers of Enrique, is the victim of several magic tricks. His wine and food are made to suddenly disappear, and a piece of coal remains in their place. He is about to embrace his sweetheart, when he finds a lion in his arms instead. Still unconvinced, he would see more proofs, so the head of an executed criminal is made to appear before him and to talk and spit forth fire. Enrique is not only a magician, but he is the powerful noble as well, and when his influence is strong enough at court to gain a point, he will not resort to magic.

It has already been shown how Diego, in answer to Villena's questions about the cave and the bronze head, tries to rationalize the legend [2]. Enrico is this living « cabeza de bronce », who teaches students the magic arts. Villena, in common with the other magicians of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, accord-

1. Act. I, p. 88.
2. Cf. chap. I, of this study.

ing to popular belief, possessed a magic head. The attempt on the part of the author to explain this constantly recurring magic apparatus falls flat. This Enrico is Alarcón's professor of magic in Salamanca's cave. We have already seen how, in some legends, the professor was a sacristan, and in others the devil himself. Fernandez-Guerra identifies Enrico with the French mathematician, Henri Martin [1]. That French magician also went to Italy and studied « nigromancia » under Merlin. I have been unable to find any adequate explanation for Alarcón's having Merlin teach magic in Italy, as he was sufficiently well known in Spain before the Italian romances of chivalry brought him there.

In Enrico's case, the magic studies are elaborated in greater detail :

« nigromancía
La que en virtud de caractéres vanos
A la naturaleza el poder quita,
Y engaña al ménos, cuando no la imita.
Con esta los furiosos cuatro vientos
Puedo enfrenar, los montes cavernosos
Arrancar de sus últimos asientos,
Y sosegar los mares procelosos,
Poner en guerra y paz los elementos,
Formar nubes y rayos espantosos,
Profundos valles y encumbrados montes,
Esconder y alumbrar los horizontes.
Con esta sé de todas las criaturas
Mudar en otra forma la apariencia :
Con esta aquí oculté vuestras figuras :
No obró la santidad, obró la ciencia [2] ».

It is interesting to note that, in this last line, Enrico admits that these powers do not belong to the domain of white magic. In spite of his deep knowledge of magic, he confesses his inferiority to Villena.

1. *Juan Ruiz de Alarcón*, Madrid, 1871, p. 177.
2. Act. I, p. 86.

« Largamente ha disputado con él (Villena)
Admirado el viejo está
Y despues de Merlín, da
A don Enrique el laurel [1] ».

Enrico's trial consists of a scholastic debate on the question.

« Si es lícita ó no la magia
Y que fundamento tenga [2] ».

Enrico weakly defends himself with the syllogism that the study of all natural sciences is permitted ; magic is a natural science, and therefore is a legitimate study. There are magic powers in certain herbs and stones, and in certain animals, which are all created by God, a conclusive proof that magic should be placed among the recognized sciences. Furthermore, God taught this science to Adam and Solomon « como mil santos lo prueban », therefore it cannot be wicked, since it came from God. Enrico, however, does not mention the other magic powers, which he knew were not sanctioned, and which he boasted of in the preceding act. He says nothing about « nigromancía » or black magic. He describes and defends only white, or natural, magic.

To Enrico's arguments, the « pesquisidor's » assistant, a Dominican doctor, replies :

« La mágica se divide
En tres especies diversas :
Natural, artificiosa,
Y diabólica ».

Natural magic he explains in the same way as Enrico. The second species,

1. Act. III, p. 95.
2. Act. III, p. 99.

« La artificiosa consiste
En la industria ó ligereza
Del ingenio ó de las manos.
. . . . . .
Estas dos licitas son ».

The third kind, introduced by the devil, is the « diabólica ».

« se funda
En el pacto y convenencia
Que el demonio hizo
El primer inventor della ».

It would be enlightening to know who this « primer inventor » was. Perhaps this is an allusion to Theophilus.

« qué virtud,
Qué actividad, qué potencia
Tiene un carácter inútil,
Corta linea ó breve letra,
Para formar de repente
Nubes, truenos, valles, sierras,
Cosas que sin mucho espacio
No puede naturaleza ?
. . . . . .
Y asi es forzoso afirmar
Lo que muchos santos prueban,
Que es ilícita, pues obra
Por el demonio esta ciencia ».

Enrico is, of course, overcome by these irrefutable arguments, and confesses that diabolic magic, which in reality he had not defended,

« Es arte mala y perversa ».

It would appear as though Alarcón were saving his own head with this condemnation of black magic, after having permitted both Enrico and Villena to practise it during the action of the play.

The last lines of the *Cueva de Salamanca,* which are a vindication of the « Gran Marqués de Villena » although they have no direct bearing on the plot, are of great interest to us, because they introduce two of the most important motifs of the Villena cycle, the bottle and the shadow stories.

« Y porque es justo
Que el noble auditorio sepa
Por qué dicen que engañó
El gran marqués de Villena
Al demonio con su sombra,
Oid : la razon es esta.
Como el Marqués estudió
Esta diabólica ciencia,
Tuvo el infierno esperanza
De su perdicion eterna.
Mas murió tan santamente,
Que engañó al demonio : y esa
Es la causa porque dicen
Que con la sombra le deja.
Dicen que entregó su cuerpo
A una redoma pequeña,
Porque en su sepulcro breve
Incluyó tanta grandeza.
Que quiso hacerse inmortal,
Dicen, porque su nobleza,
Su saber y cristiandad,
Alcanzaron fama eterna [1] ».

It looks as though Alarcón had not been able to work the bottle and shadow episodes into the play proper, and had crammed them in at the end in this way. As in the case of the magic cave and bronze head, here is again an attempt to give a plausible explanation of supernatural phenomena. I should like to trace these two accounts to their earliest appearance. I am inclined to

1. Act. III, closing lines.

believe that they belong to an earlier date than the first years of the seventeenth century. There is a popular verse which may possibly be older than this play :

« Como el Marqués de Villena
te llegará á suceder:
se picó en una redoma
y no valió su saber [1] ».

Both this « redoma » tradition, and the shadow story, we shall find more fully developed later.

In his play, really nothing more than a student sketch, Alarcón had an abundance of material which he could not then utilize to good advantage. He gives us the first appearance of the flask and shadow stories, the first attempt to connect Villena with the cave of Salamanca and its school of magic, and the story of the seven students. But when we look for a characterization of Villena, we find none. We learn that he has studied magic in Italy, and has come to Salamanca in search of the cave. He performs a few magic tricks, and then is forgotten in the midst of the other events of the play.

Quevedo, in his *Visita de los Chistes*, of 1622, which was originally entitled, *Sueño de la Muerte y el Marqués de Villena*, makes a more artistic use of the bottled Villena story. In his dream, the author came upon a « grandísima redoma de vidrio » in which he perceived some finely chopped pieces of flesh boiling vigorously and dancing about. Little by little, one slice of flesh joined another, and from these pieces there was gradually formed an arm, a thigh, or a leg. Finally, out of the concoction, arose a full grown man. « What manner of man is this », I said, « born of a stew and a bottle ? » Whereupon, I heard a voice issuing from the vessel, saying, « What year is this ? » « Sixteen hun-

1. Cf. Cotarelo y Mori, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

dred and twenty-two, » I answered. « That is the year I was waiting for » said the voice. « Who are you ? » I asked, « you who are born in a bottle, and who yet speak and live ? » « Don't you know me ? » he demanded, « do not the bottle and the pieces of flesh tell you that I am the famous magician, Villena ? Have you not heard the story that I had myself cut in pieces and put in a bottle, so that I might become immortal ? » « All my life I have heard that story » I replied, « but I thought it a fairy tale. »

Villena then asked to be set free, but first inquired about the financial condition of Spain, a question which gives the witty author a chance to satirize the abuses of his time. After satisfying himself on Spain's status, through a long series of questions, the reconstructed Villena finally overturned the bottle, came out, and went off. Quevedo goes on to the next shade. Here we have a dramatic elaboration of Alarcón's lines, told in piquant style by a master wit. Of course this satire does not represent Quevedo's own belief. In 1629 he wrote of Villena as one « á quien la ignorancia popular ha vuelto el túmulo de piedra que tiene su cuerpo de San Francisco desta corte en redoma [1]. »

Legends of magicians seeking immortality by having themselves cut up and bottled were not uncommon in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The story is told of Faust, Roger Bacon, Paracelsus, and Cornelius Agrippa among others [2]. All these tales probably go back to the mediaeval legends of Virgil, who had his body cut up, pickled, and then put in a cask, which was set beneath a dripping lamp [3]. There is a curious analogy in the Greek legend of Media, the sorceress, who, in order to

1. Cf. Cotarelo y Mori, *op. cit.*, p. 42, note. The quotation is taken from a letter to the Conde-Duque de Olivares.

2. Cf. J. G. T. Graesse : *Sage vom ewigen Juden*, Dresden und Leipzig, 1844, p. 44.

3. D. Comparetti : *Virgilio Nel Medio Evo*, vol. II, p. 156.

avenge Pelias, prevails upon his daughters to cut their father in pieces and boil him, promising to restore him to youth again by her magic art [1]. This story was known in Spain, altho M. Mallinger does not mention it, as is shown by Lope de Rueda's *Armelina* which will be studied in detail in another chapter [2]. There may possibly be some connection between these reincarnation legends, and those of the *homunculus* and Mediaeval Hebrew *golem* [3].

Rojas Zorrilla, in his *Lo Que Queria Ver el Marqués de Villena* makes his protagonist a *galán* and *précieux*. His Villena puts all his learning into insipid compliments to his lady love. As in Alarcón's play, the historical setting has entirely disappeared, and the scene is again laid at Salamanca, where the magic cave also plays a part. The shadow motif is elaborated and the bottle legend is touched upon. There is again in this play an attempt to vindicate Villena.

Serafina is about to organize an « academia », a sort of poetic tournament, to which Villena, as one of the leading lights of learning in the city, has been invited. At this tournament, different questions are debated. Fileno, a magician, defends his calling and is attacked by Villena, who refuses to believe in the magic powers of man. The magician invites Villena and his friends to his magic cave, there to see and judge for themselves. The audience learns in the cave « Lo que queria ver el Marqués de Villena. » After several visits the magician makes the students draw lots to determine who is to remain behind as hostage, in return for their lessons in the magic arts. Villena is the victim, but he tricks the magician by leaving his shadow behind in his stead. An intricately involved by-play runs through this story. Villena is in love with Serafina, Serafina is in love with el Doc-

1. Cf. L. Mallinger : *Médée, Etude de Littérature comparée*, Paris, 1898, p. 5.
2. Cf. chap. IV, of this study.
3. Cf. *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, vol. VI, under *Golem*.

tor Madrid, a woman in man's disguise. Bermudez is in love with Madrid, whom he knows to be a woman, and Madrid herself is in love with Villena. Through his magic powers, Serafina is forced to love Villena, whom she begs for mercy. He promises to give her up to the one she really loves. When she discovers that Madrid is a woman, Villena is avenged for his unrequited affection. This is a bare outline of a long play full of incident and counter intrigues.

The Marqués here is not the son of the great Villena, but Villena himself, as he is called « nieto de un rey de Castilla. » This fact is all that is in any way historical about the character ; the rest is purely imaginary or traditional. This Marqués galán has turned all his learning to love pursuits.

« Por amar mi entendimiento
Con perfeccion noche y día
Cursé en la filosofia
De vuestro conocimiento :
. . . . . .
Luégo con mayor desvelo
La astrología estudié,
Por saber todo lo que
Hay dentro de vuestro cielo.
Mas si no os he de alcanzar,
Mejor me está, Serafina,
Estudiar la medicina
De saberos olvidar [1] » :

When the question is put at the poetic tourney :

« Cuál ciencia, pues,
Para la conservacion
Nuestra es la más útil ? »

the marquis answers :

1. Act. I, p. 323, col. 2 ; ed. *Bib. Aut. Esp.*

« Son
Las leyes[1] »

Why he should have chosen to offer that subject, I do not know. It does not seem to be based on any traditional study of the Marqués.

We are interested more, however, in the Marqués' attack on the defense of magic made by the magician of the cave of Salamanca, Fileno. According to him, magic is a :

« Filosofía perfecta,
Y es una ciencia evidente,
Que si el hombre la alcanzára,
Todo cuanto deseára
Consiguiera fácilmente :
Hacer que esté oscuro el día,
Que mengüe el mar cuando crece,
Ven que á todos nos parece
Milagro, pues es magía[2] ».

To which the marquis answers,

« La magia está prohibida ».

Fileno replies,

« La natural no lo está,
La diabólica será »

Whereupon Villena asks

« Quién sabe esa magia ? »
« Yo »

answers Fileno.

« Eso es lo que yo he de ver »

1. Act. I, p. 324, col. 3.
2. Act. I, p. 325.

continues the marquis, and there we have the point of the play. Fileno promises to make the sea produce flowers and to force a river to flow backward. Villena professes to have no interest in these phenomena. The magician finally tempts him with,

« Dama que te aborreciere
Haré que te quiera bien ».

Here the chorus sings,

« Eso es lo que queria
Ver el Marqués de Villena ».

After the meeting of the « academia » is over, Fileno invites the marquis to come to his cave on the morrow [1]. The marquis goes, and as he is about to enter, his student servant, Zambapalo, warns him not to do so.

« Señor, el que entrar te vea,
Cosas sobrenaturales
Ha de imaginar que intentas.
Advierte, Señor, que cria
Enemigos la grandeza » :

To which the marquis retorts,

« Qué importa, si no entro en ella
Con intento de saber
Más ciencia, aunque haya otra ciencia
Que la magia natural [2] ».

As they enter the cave, Zambapalo facetiously tells Villena not to stumble against the bottled devil, which Fileno is reputed to possess.

1. For a description of this cave, see chap. I, of this study.
2. Act. II, p. 328, col. 3.

« Mira no sea
Que encuentres con la redoma
A tiento, que si la quiebras,
Se derramará el demonio [1] ».

By means of his magic, Fileno makes chairs move about of themselves, but the marquis is unconvinced and refuses to believe the demonstration magical. The magician then bids Villena ask him to perform the most difficult task he can think of. Upon which the marquis asks to be shown everything that is happening outside in the city. In a magic mirror, he is made to see his friends engaged in a student prank. The marquis, encouraged, then wishes to see Serafina. He would also like to speak to her, but that is beyond the power of the magician. Villena, however, can hear all that Serafina says and what is said to her. Through this play within a play, the marquis learns that Serafina does not love him. To give further proof of his abilities, Fileno promises to turn her hatred into love. But even yet, Villena is not ready to admit Fileno's magic powers.

The next day Serafina comes to implore Villena to free her from the spell he has cast upon her,

« Libradme á mí mi albedrio,
Que amor tengo y quiero bien ;
Y aunque me estorbais el lazo,
No descomponeis la red : »

In Serafina's long entreaty we learn more about the marquis' position at Salamanca :

« Digo, que habrá cuatro ó seis
Años que á esta gran ciudad
De Salamanca á aprender
Ciencias y artes os condujo

1. Act. II, p. 329.

Vuestro grande ingenio, á quien
Los mayores de la escuela
Rinden vasallaje, pues
En Leyes, Filosofia
Natural, en conocer
Por la docta Astronomia
Cuanto en ese azul papel
Escribieron las estrellas
Para el mal y para el bien :
En la magia natural,
Tan dificil de entender,
Que nadie piensa que la hay
Y vos solo la sabeis :
El último y el primero
Sois,... [1] ».

A few days later, Villena and his companions are again invited to the cave. Since his last visit, he has gained the reputation of being a greater magician than Fileno. He has learned, among other things, to control the natural phenomena like all other great magicians. He can subdue the winds and obscure the light of the sun ; he can make the moon swallow up water and he can cause mountains to quake.

One of his friends, much troubled over his going to the cave, warns him of the many reports that have circulated concerning his magic powers and their possible consequences. One story has gone about, he tells Villena,

« De que á un esclavo has mandado
Que te haga gigote.
. . . . . .
Que le mandaste despues
Te meta en una redoma.
. . . . . Para ser
Immortal [2] ».

1. Act. III, p. 342.
2. Act. III, p. 344.

The real purpose of Fileno's invitation to the cave is to get Villena and his comrades imprisoned there, and then to force them to draw lots in order to determine which of them shall remain, because his master he says,

« Cuando me enseñaba,
Con condicion me enseñó
Esta ciencia no adquirida,
Que aqui venís á aprender
Que su esclavo habia de ser
Como en la muerte en la vida,
Y que de cuantos mi engaño
Enseñase la magia,
Un discípulo le habia
De dar por feudo cada año [1] ».

The four students protest that they had made no such agreement; but the magician has them at his mercy, and compels them to do his bidding. The marquis is the unlucky one, but in no way perturbed, he tells his friends to go to Serafina's house, where he will shortly join them.

« Mi sombra le he de dejar ».

says the marquis to himself.

« El sol he de escurecer,
No me he de apartar de aqui :
A la noche semejante,
Vario el dia quedará :
. . . . . .
Pues ahí queda mi sombra [2] ».

As he says this, the stage direction adds, « When the magician is about to grasp the marquis, the light is obscured with a veil

1. Act. III, p. 345.
2. Act. III, p. 346.

and instead of the marquis, Fileno seizes Zambapalo. » Upon discovering that he has been tricked, he cries out :

« Ay, el Marqués me engañó!
Vive mi pena inmortal,
Con la magia natural
La diabólica burló,
Siendo yo quien la ha enseñado : »

Then he sinks beneath the earth exclaiming,

« Infierno, dónde te escondes[1] ? »

Suddenly the daylight appears again, and Zambapalo finds himself in front of Serafina's house. On entering, he sees the marquis, who explains his presence,

« Burlé al mágico Fileno,
Porque tiene tanta fuerza
La natural magia, que
La demoniaca mesma
Quedó burlada con ser
Espíritu quien la enseña ».

But the play is not over yet. The marquis must make another apology to posterity,

« Porque la magia he estudiado,
Y no por usar mal della,
Que el deseo de saber
Sólo ha sido por saberla :
Piensa el mundo que me quiero
Hacer inmortal,.... »

In this play both the bottled devil and the bottled Villena motifs are touched upon. They were probably distinct legends,

1. Act. III, p. 346.

one going back to the Virgilian cycle, and the other possibly to post-biblical tales of Solomon [1]. It is not clear in what respect Villena's so called white magic differs from Fileno's black magic. Perhaps Rojas Zorrilla too was trying to avoid any difficulties with the authorities by calling the variety of magic he uses white, condemning at the same time black magic. This author is the first to use the story of the seven students of the cave of Salamanca and the escape of Villena, who leaves his shadow behind, Here there are but four students and their instructor is a magician who has dealings with the devil, not the devil himself. The episode is very dramatically worked out and is one of the best parts of the play.

The obvious attempts to vindicate Villena's name in both Rojas Zorilla's play and Alarcón's, after the exploitation of the legends about him, are puzzling. It requires no less than eighty lines for Rojas Zorrilla to assert that Villena's influence was for good. We may find a possible explanation in the fact that Villena was of royal stock, and loyal subjects might be accused of lèse-majesté in ascribing to him dealings with the devil. Although Alarcón and Rojas Zorrilla utilized the legendary matter, they took great pains to label it as such. Villena was not handled so carefully by writers of the nineteenth century.

Towards the close of the century (1690) a German traveller, Johann Limberg von Roden [2], tells a marvellous story in which he combines the shadow incident and the bottled Villena myth. He had been told that in « S. Pollo » street, under a house formerly inhabited by a baker, there used to be a cave, containing palatial apartments and beautiful gardens, where the devil conducted a school. There he always maintained and instructed

1. Cf. chap. I, on Virgil of Cordova.

2. In *Denkwürdigen Reisebeschreibung*. Cf. Edmund Dorer: *Heinrich von Villena* in *Archiv für das Studium der Neu. Spr.* LXXVII, p. 129 ff.

seven students until they became proficient in all arts and sciences, making the condition, however, that when they had finished their studies, the last of the seven must serve him forever in payment. Now it happened that in one of the groups, the « Marqueso de villano » was the last to finish his studies, and according to the contract, should remain behind as the devil's hostage. « Stay here, Villano, you are the last, » said the devil. « No, I am not the last, » answered the Marqueso, « take this, » and he left behind his shadow. The devil seized the shadow, and thereafter, neither by night nor by day, did the Marqueso possess a shadow.

Among other secrets, Villano had learned of the devil how the old might make themselves young. He thought to profit himself by this magic knowledge. Accordingly, in his last years, feeling that his end was approaching, he bought some black slaves, and, after sending away all his other servants, he commanded the new ones to kill him, to cut his body up in small pieces, to put the pieces into a glass bottle, and then to bury the bottle in a pile of horse manure. The slaves carried out their master's commands. Some time later, the old servants of the marquis returned and demanded of the slaves what had become of their master. They answered that they did not know. Suspicion having fallen upon them, the blacks were imprisoned, and under torture confessed what they had done at the command of the marquis. The officers of the law went to the spot where the bottle had been buried, and, on causing it to be dug up, they found in it a well-formed child. After a long deliberation, it was decreed that the bottle and its contents, being a diabolical manifestation, must be destroyed by fire. Thus was Villano's attempt at attaining immortality frustrated.

This story of Johann Limberg, which we shall see further developed in chap-book literature, seems far more realistic and less puerile than the Virgilian legend of reincarnation. There, when the cask containing the remains of the magician

is opened, a naked child flies out and circles about [1].

The statement that « thereafter neither by night nor by day did the marquis possess a shadow » seems to afford a point of departure for Chamisso's *Peter Schlemihl*, for in none of the preceding accounts are we left to infer that, after tricking the devil, the marquis was obliged to go through the rest of his life without a shadow. It would be interesting to find out whether there is any connection between Villena and Peter Schlemihl. That the Villena story became known in Germany is evident by this account of Johann Limberg. Moreover, in some descriptions of him Villena is made to appear somewhat of a « schlemihl. »

In the seventeenth century treatments of the Villena legend which we have just reviewed, there is little or no historical matter. In the series which follows, the historical setting forms the background and the legendary element is incidental. In *El Rey Enrique el Enfermo*, « de seis ingenios, » of 1657, the Marqués de Villena plays an important role [2]. Despite an overabundance of authorship, the play has some sequence. It adheres, in the main, very closely to historical facts. The plot centers about the love of King Enrique for María de Albornoz, who has just been married to Villena. She repulses the king, but he, in order to possess her, puts Villena out of the way by making him Maestre de Calatrava, the former incumbent having just died. To accept this position, Villena must give up his wife. This he does, obtaining a divorce on the grounds of impotence. María, however, still loves him and tries to win him back, even after the divorce. Villena ignores her and goes to Calatrava. María enters a convent in despair. Although the King has appointed Villena Maestro,

1. Cf. Comparetti : *Virgilio Nel Medio Evo*, vol. II, p. 156.

2. In *Comedias Nuevas Escogidas de los Mejores Ingenios de España*, vol. IX, Madrid, 1657. According to La Barrera, the six authors were Zabaleta, Rosete, Villaviciosa, Martínez de Menéses, Cáncer, and Moreto. The last pages of the play are lacking in the volume of the Ticknor Collection.

the pope refuses to sanction the decree of divorce, and the marquis is obliged to give up the position. On his way back to his estates, he meets María who has repeatedly repulsed the King. Villena does not recognize her, and she attempts once more, disguised as a shepherd girl, to recover his love. The outcome probably is that Villena and María will be brought together again. Villena is referred to by different characters of the play as « astrólogo », « duende, » « hechicero, » « brujo, » and « nigromante. » He boasts to the queen that with his magic mirror:

« Con mi arte peregrino
quanto viue, y ay presente
traigo a los ojos patente [1]. »

By the aid of this mirror he presents to the gaze of the Queen, the King making love to María.

According to Villena's servant Cortés, the marquis is on familiar terms with demons.

« y que con sola una voz
al demonio mas feroz
miras a tus pies postrado [2].
. . . . . .
De los diablos no me espanto
que suelo en mi casa ver [3]. »

This servant also is destined to put his master into a bottle:

« Si es verdad que he de picarte
y hecharte en una redoma
para que siendo inmortal
veas desta Monarquia
los aumentos cada dia,
. . . . . .

1. Act. I, p. 436.
2. Act. I, p. 435.
3. Act. II, p. 440.

Y aquesto de la redoma
es verdad ?

MAR. Como es possible.

CORTÉS. Quien suele hazerse inuisible
y lo que sucede en Roma
sabe desde su aposento :
porque no lo podrà hazer ?
que de cosas podràs ver,
de pesar, y de contento
si viues diezientos años,
en essa redoma, o bote,
hecho tu cuerpo gigote [1]. »

Villena is represented then as an unfortunate individual who was loved by a beautiful woman, yet gave her up, acknowledging himself impotent and refusing her love, although she offered herself to him after divorce. Not only did he lose his wife, but also his « maestrazgo, » for which he had sacrificed her. This was the Villena who knew,

« mucho del cielo, y poco de tierra, »

as one of the chroniclers has described him. Here again Villena is characterized as something of a fool.

Lope de Vega's *Porfiar Hasta Morir*, a play of the Macías series, contains a character named Maestre de Santiago. No other name is given him thruout the piece. Since later plays made Macias servant of Villena, this one has been included among the Villena cycle. There is in it, however, absolutely nothing to substantiate the belief that the maestre of this play is really Villena. None of the incidents of Villena's life, historical or legendary, are utilized. Furthermore this maestre is not the head of the order of Calatrava, but of that of Santiago. In Lope's play, the wife of the maestre is Juana and not María [2].

1. Act. I, p. 435.
2. See Menéndez y Pelayo's ed. of Lope, vol. X.

In the *Español Mas Amante y Desgraciado Mazias*, de Tres Ingenios [1], we have a very mediocre play, in which Villena is actually master of Macias. The first to associate Villena with Macias was Argote de Molina [2], and later authors have accepted this relationship although Macias died a few years after Villena's birth. In this play the marquis is :

> « el que con su Astrologia,
> puede ser, que alguna vez
> que los Luzeros atisva [3]. »

We learn also that master and servant studied at Salamanca together. The action, however, is mainly concerned with Macias, and Villena is a minor character.

The eighteenth century gives us very little Villena material. I have already mentioned [4] that it was the son of the marquis who tricked the sacristan at Salamanca in Juan de Dios' account quoted by Feijoo [5]. The manner in which he made his escape required no magic knowledge. In the little room where he was imprisoned for not being willing to pay for his six colleagues, there was a large earthen water jar. It was cracked, and therefore happened to be empty. Villena hid himself in it, replacing the cover in such a way that the objects on top remained as if undisturbed. That evening when the sacristan and his servant came to bring the prisoner supper and a light, they were astounded at not finding him. Seeing that one or two magic books were lying open on the table, they immediately inferred that the marquis had utilized his magic knowledge to free himself. They went out, not troubling to lock the door after them. As soon as

1. In *Comedias Nuevas Escogidas*, Parte 48, Madrid, 1704, p. 361.
2. *Nobleza de Andaluzia*, Seville, 1588, chap. CXLVII.
3. Act. I, p. 364.
4. Cf. Chap. I, p. 57.
5. *Teatro Critico*, Cf. *Bib. Aut. Esp.*, p. 377.

the marquis was satisfied that the sacristan and his students were asleep, he climbed out of the jar, picked up a bunch of keys, which he found hanging on a door, and made his way to the church. By the dim light of the altar lamp, he was able to distinguish a curtained alcove. He hid behind the curtain and waited for the church door to open for service the next morning. As soon as he dared, he got down from the altar, and falling on his knees, he pretended that he had entered the church to pray. He watched for his opportunity and slipped out without being seen. A few days later, the marquis returned the keys and made public the whole affair, saying that he had joined the class merely out of curiosity. Subsequently he used his influence to have the school discontinued and the sacristan removed.

The first half of the nineteenth century was very prolific in Villena literature. The romantic movement resurrected Villena, and along with him, Macias, the ideal poet-lover, whom popular tradition made the servant of the great magician. Based on the Villena legends, we find a long novel, two chap-book stories, a short tale, two plays and a poem, all of which are Spanish except the poem which is German.

In Mariano José de Larra's *Doncel de Don Enrique el Doliente* of 1834, Villena plays as important a part as the Doncel Macias himself. He might even be called the protagonist. It must be remembered in reading this novel that it was written when the author was but twenty-five years old. In spite of Larra's unquestioned precocity, this was hardly an age for him to have produced a mature, finished piece of work. Yet with all its imperfections, this is the only novel of the Romantic period in Spain that has survived. The greatest defect of the work lies in the fact that Larra has not given us an accurate picture of the early fifteenth century. He has not only distorted the setting, but the characters themselves. We have a powerful, vivid portrayal of Villena who is blackened into a cowardly, unscrupulous vil-

lain, in vivid contrast with Macias, the model of honor and chivalry. The love of Macias for Elvira forms but a sub-plot. It is not a love of the fifteenth century, but a Romantic love of the early nineteenth.

It is difficult to determine the source of Larra's novel, which presents many new features, not found in the legendary accounts prior to the nineteenth century. Is it based on a chap-book entitled *Historia de los Principales Acontecimientos del Celebre Hechicero Don Enrique de Villena*. The edition of this chap-book that I have used is dated 1848, but it is entirely probable that the story, as it is told there, was known long before that time. If Larra did not use this chap-book story, then its compiler made use of Larra's novel because there are paragraphs in both that are absolutely identical word for word. Yet in certain important incidents in the plot, they differ widely. In the chap-book version, which is a mere sketch compared with Larra's elaborate work, the events are fierce and bloody. In the novel they are softened by a literary pen. The characters in both, many of them new to the legend, have absolutely the same names.

Whichever way it was, Larra's Villena is purely fictitious. There is very little trace of the historical personage in him. The plot is this : Villena, in order to become Maestre de Calatrava has his wife María kidnapped and gives out that she has been killed. Elvira, lady in waiting to María, accuses Villena of the crime. The king orders her to produce a champion to prove her assertion by the test of arms. Macias champions her cause, and Vadillo, Elvira's husband, jealous because of his wife's love for Macias, offers to fight for Villena. Meanwhile Villena has spirited Macias away to the same castle where his wife is confined, and thus Elvira is left without a champion. Suddenly Luis de Guzman, rival for the « maestrazgo » appears on the lists in Elvira's defense. He is vanquished by Vadillo. Just as the king is about to pronounce against Elvira, María, who has been freed from her prison, appears, and Villena is forced to flee. He exculpates

himself later by saying that he divorced his wife because he was impotent. Through María's intercession, Villena is pardoned and lives the rest of his life in retirement. But Macias and Elvira must be disposed of by the author, and in true Romantic fashion he has Macias killed in the struggle to capture Villena's castle, and he makes Elvira die mad.

In his characterization of Villena, Larra keeps the traditional features of his great learning and his reputation as a magician. But with his Romantic desire to create an antithesis between Macias and Villena, he makes the latter a violent and ambitious schemer, who would stoop to every villainy short of murder. « Soy ambicioso, pero creo que hay un Dios [1] », he tells the astrologer Abenzarsal, when the latter counsels him to murder one of his enemies. He is an « incomprensible mezcla de devoción y de impudencia, de religion y de vicios [2] ». In his endeavor to persuade Macias to abduct his wife he calls the chivalrous scruples of Macias « fórmulas vacías de sentido, inútiles. » His unreasoning anger blinds him when his plans are crossed, and on one occasion, he very nearly strangles a servant who had bungled an order.

To his wife who loves him, he is cruel and calculating. He insults her, when she attempts to win his love. When his ambitious projects require an annulment of his marriage, he would force her to consent to it at the point of the dagger. In the incident of the abduction of his wife, Larra would make Villena a hypocrite to boot. As he is feigning a reconciliation with her, six masked men suddenly enter the apartment, bind Elvira to a post, and carry off María. Villena, meanwhile pretending to fight valiantly, as if to prevent them. This same incident occurs in the chap-book, where there is much bloodshed. There it seems to be in keeping with the rest of the story, and is what might

1. Cf. ed. Garnier : *Obras de Figaro*, Paris, 1870, vol. I., p. 331.
2. p. 334.

be expected. In Larra's novel, on the other hand, the episode seems puerile and crude. It lacks the force of the chap-book's naive account. It is one of the passages which leads me to believe that Larra's work was taken from the chap-book story.

According to Larra,

« Don Enrique era corta estatura ; sus ojos hundidos y pequeños tenian una expresión particular de superioridad y predominio que avasallaba desde la primera vez á los más de los que con el hablaban : su voz era hueca y sonora, calidades que no contribuían poco á aumentar en el vulgo la impresión mágica que en los ánimos débiles ejercía. Su nariz afilada y su boca muy pequeña le daban todo el aire de un hombre sagaz, penetrante, vivo, falso, y aun temible [1]. »

The only absolutely true part of this description is the shortness of Villena's stature. The rest is traditional, embellished by Larra's imagination.

There is an element of mystery in everything that Villena does. His private study is an alchemical laboratory very minutely described, a description which is paralleled in the chap-book story. This laboratory is held in great awe by his servants. « No tocaría á una redoma de esas por mil demonios. Quien sabe cuantas legiones de demonios podrán caber en cada uno ? » says one of them who considers his master a full fledged « nigromante [2] . » His writings are considered by them « signos diabólicos » and « encantos. » When Villena gives money to his « juglar », Ferrus, he threatens to turn it to lead and even to fire if he is not served faithfully. He is represented as making all his exits and entrances through secret doors.

His castle at Arjonilla, where he has hidden his wife is enchanted. The astrologer Abenzarsal has promised to make him a magic head. « Os aseguro », he tells the astrologer, « que

1. p. 255.
2. p. 232.

si la tuviera en mi poder, como debiera a la hora esta, ya la habría hecho decir cosas buenas y oportunas acerca del asunto [1] ». Villena's rival Guzman, in his struggle to oust him from the « maestrazgo », accuses him of having « inteligencia con los espíritus », and brands him as an

« afeminado cortesano, un intrigante ambicioso, un rimador, un nigromante... Había quien lo habrá visto horas enteras evocando manes de los difuntos... Había quien le habia visto sepultarse en una larga redoma y desaparecer á los ojos de los circunstantes ; y hasta llegaba á probar que había estado en más de una occasion en dos partes opuestas á un mismo tiempo, lo cual como convinieron todos, no podía obrarse sino por arte de demonio... de lo cual era forzoso inferir que don Enrique le habría vendido su alma [2]. »

Larra disposes of Villena at the end of his novel by stating « es cosa sabida que después de su muerte quedó hecho trozos en una redoma, como hechicero que había sido. »

The chap-book, *Historia de los Principales Acontecimientos del Celebre Hechicero Don Enrique de Villena,* contains practically the skeleton of Larra's *Doncel,* with a few variations and a different ending. Villena is endowed with still another magic power. By the aid of certain varicolored powders he is enabled to hear any conversation that he wishes. Toward the end of the story, Villena, with the help of the devil, puts the king in a bottle to get him out of the way, and he has himself proclaimed regent. Later, when it suits his pleasure, he frees the king. Villena's end is much more dramatic than in Larra's novel, for, true to his character of alchemist, he is finally destroyed by an explosion in his laboratory.

A few months after the *Doncel* was written, Larra's play *Macías* appeared. Here he made use of the same principal characters as in the novel, but the centre of interest has changed. The action is concerned only with Macias and Elvira ; Villena

1. p. 464.
2. pp. 320 and 371.

is but a subsidiary character, as in the earlier plays of the Macias cycle. The play is written in the old Spanish meters of the Golden Age, but its spirit is romantic. It is a pale reflection of *Antony* and *Hernani*. Larra, however, was neither a poet nor a dramatist. In spite of its weak points, he was more felicitious in the *Doncel*, for his real talent lay in his mastery of a vigorous prose style.

The Villena of the play is no longer the scheming villain and magician, he is the dignified noble and man of letters, the protector of his followers. In his earlier work, Larra, as we have seen, tried to vilify Villena in every possible way; in the play, on the other hand, he seems to wish to defend Villena's reputation against his own former attacks. This same difference in the characterization of Villena is to be found in the earlier plays of the Macias cycle and in the chap-book story.

Angered by the request of a friend to foretell the outcome of a certain event by the aid of his astrological knowledge, the Villena of Larra's play exclaims :

« Vulgo estúpido, ignorante !
Yo dado á la nigromancia ?
Yo astrólogo ? Yo adivino ?
Yo docto en la judiciaria ?
Solo porque ven mas libros
Reunidos en mi casa
Que en todo el reino ? Y acaso
No pueden ver lo que tratan ?
. . . . . .
Y ese espíritu que llaman
Maligno, puede en el mundo
Hacer bien, ni mal ? Me holgara
De saber en donde habita
Y verle á alguno la cara [1] ! »

1. Act. II, sc. 2.

He is not concerned with summoning demons, as the ignorant believe, he is quietly engaged in his literary work. To his servant he says:

« Rui Pero, aquellos papeles
Que dejo esparcidos guarda,
Que es el arte que le escribo
De trobar en ciencia gaya
A don Iñigo Mendoza,
El Marqués de Santillana [1]. »

Espronceda, in his *Diablo Mundo*, makes a passing reference to Villena:

« Es cierto que allí van también profanos
En busca de las lindas profesoras,
Hombres sin duda en su pensar livianos,
Que de toda hacen burla á todas horas.
Sin gravedad, de entendimiento vanos,
Gentes de natural murmuradoras,
Que se mofaran de Villena mismo
Evocando los diablos del abismo [2]. »

La Redoma Encantada (1839) of Hartzenbusch is the only play in Spanish literature in which the bottle legend is elaborately developed. The author, who is very fond of introducing magic elements into his plays, takes us into the world of witches and enchantments. It is the year 1610. Garabito, the gracioso, has taken refuge from a pursuer in the house of the witch, « la tía Marizápalos », who has just died. He stumbles into a large tub, filled with a magic liquid, and immediately takes the form of the dead witch. He next finds himself in the cave of Baharona, the meeting place of witches and wizards, where the « archi-

1. Act. II, sc. 5.
2. Canto I, p. 201, ed. *Obras Poéticas*, Valladolid, 1900.

mága Marizápalos » held sway before her death. Thinking that he is their queen, the throng greets him with :

« Marizápalos inclita viva
De la magia maestra sútil[1]. »

In the stage directions of this scene, we read, « En el fondo se ve en un nicho, la redoma encantada. » The greetings over, Garabito, without any preamble, makes the following speech to the assembled company : « Sabios compañeros..... la hora en que el ejercicio de la hechiceria se abandone para siempre en España, va á sonar al instante. Excrito[2] estaba, como sabeis, en nuestros libros profécticos que nuestra secta cesaría de existir en esta Pecnínsula 273 años después que desaparecciera del mundo el supereminente mágico de las Españas, el célebre Don Enrique de Aragón, Marqués de Villena ! »

We are not told how Garabito, a stranger to these witches and wizards, knew all this. Interrupted several times in the course of his speech, he subdues his subjects with the terrible oath, « si me faltan al respeto..... voto á la redoma del Marqués de Villena ! » He continues : « en esa redoma yace, cual sabéis, encantado el reformador de la magia en Castilla el nunca bastante redomado, digo, renombrado Marqués de Villena..... En el momento en que una mano atrevida quebrante ese vaso, volverá el Marqués de Villena á contarse en el número de los vivientes. » He then dismisses the company, and declares the sect of witches and wizards extinct in Spain. Villena alone of the magical band remains, bottled up in the « redoma ». Striking the bottle with his staff, Garabito breaks it. A flame bursts forth, followed by a

1. Act. I, sc. VIII.

2. The fantastic spelling of this and other words in this passage is a comic mimicry on the part of Garabito of the pronunciation of certain words by the secretary of the guild of witches and wizards.

cloud of smoke, which gradually dissipates, revealing the figure of the magician, Don Enrique de Villena.

The first words of the marquis are spoken in the Spanish of the early fifteenth century, a manner of speech which he preserves during several scenes. Hartzenbusch later finds this archaic phraseology too difficult to maintain, and he permits Villena to lapse into modern Spanish. Garabito tells Villena that he is in the magic cave at Baharona, whereupon the latter soliloquizes :

« A las mientes se me viene
La mi redoma, mi gran
Encantamiento. »

Garabito wants to be restored to his former shape, and Enrique, desirous of testing the power of his magic ring, cries out :

« Criatura contrafecha
Torna á tu ser natural. »

The conjuration proves effective, and Garabito is once more a man.

Enrique then asks Garabito to name a wish that he would like to have fulfilled. « Vengeance on one Conde de Biznaga » cries Garabito. Enrique then invokes the « genios del aire » to help him. Through their magic assistance the marquis and Garabito are enabled to see and hear the conde and his minions plotting to carry Dorotea off to the « Castillo de la Cabeza Encantada. » There the conde plans to deceive Dorotea by a mock marriage. Garabito praises the beauty of Dorotea, and Villena commands the spirits to place her before his eyes. Struck by her charm, Villena espouses her cause, and determines to frustrate the count's schemes.

Chastened by the errors of his former existence, the marquis from this time decides to lead a virtuous second life with Dorotea as his companion. By the aid of the magic ring, Garabito assumes

the form of his enemy, Don Lain, major-domo of the count, and Enrique becomes the count himself. The rest of the play is woven about the comedy of errors that ensues, sometimes humorous, at others puerile and tedious. Enrique, in the form of the conde makes ardent love to Dorotea and marries her.

The next act takes us to the « Castillo de la Cabeza Encantada », whither Enrique and Dorotea have gone. The witches have been robbed of their wealth by the marquis, who accuses them of evil practices and has them all imprisoned in a wood near the castle. Garabito comes among them and is mistaken for Don Lain. They try to enlist his help in capturing the marquis and gaining their freedom. Forming an army of which the actual conde is general, they prepare to attack the castle. To oppose them, Enrique proposes to use the inhabitants of an enchanted cave which is near the castle. But some other than he must cast the spell to disenchant them. Garabito is given the magic book, but makes a slip in the conjuration, and, instead of an army of soldiers, he calls up a horde of monkeys.

Enrique, meanwhile, has disclosed to Dorotea that he is not the Conde de Biznaga, but « Enrique de la redoma. »

> « La magia es mi profesión
> Pero es blanca, y te aviso
> Que la ejerzo con permiso
> De la Santa Inquisición [1]. »

In the last act, the marquis and his simian army are defeated, and the castle is captured and blown up. Dorotea and Enrique are in the « Cueva de la Cabeza Encantada, » filled with statues in stone of persons who have been enchanted. They too soon turn to stone in each other's arms. Garabito has been blown to pieces in the fray, and parts of his body come flying down a chimney

1. Act. III, sc. 8.

in a house where some soldiers of the conde are stationed. They sew his body together, fire a volley into it, and he comes back to life. He has lost his magic book however, and is powerless against the hostile soldiers who throw him into the enchanted cave. Here he has hair-raising adventures with statues and monsters. Fulfilling certain conditions which he finds written on the wall, he breaks the magic charms, and frees the marquis and Dorotea from the enchanted spell, restoring them to life again.

To my mind, the bottle scene, which is not entirely original with Hartzenbusch, is the best of the play. While there are, here and there, in this work humorous touches, in the main, it is loosely constructed, filled with impossible situations, and entirely lacking in any literary merit. Although Villena plays so large a part in the actual incidents of the plot, his role is that of any magician. Of the traditional Villena there is no trace, with the single exception of his reincarnation through the bottle.

There is another chap-book, dated 1864, *La Historia del Marqués de Villena ó la Redoma Encantada*, which gives us the most elaborate of all the accounts of the bottle episode. It is, in my opinion, the best told of the Villena legends. The plot is developed as follows. It is widely known that the Marqués de Villena made a pact with the devil, promising to surrender his soul at death in return for having every wish fulfilled during his lifetime. Villena occupied himself constantly in trying to find a means of enjoying the advantages of the devil's help, and then, in the end, outwitting him, for the devil is not so crafty as most people believe him to be. The problem of the Marqués was to evade his obligation in the pact by prolonging his life indefinitely, or by returning to life after death. He possessed a secret formula for reincarnation, which he could use in a last extremity. To carry out his schemes, Villena must provide himself with a substitute, who should assume his form when he came to die, thus deceiving the devil into believing, on seeing the supposed marquis go about as usual, that he was still alive. The marquis had a black

slave of whom he was very fond, and who never left his side, either by day or night. Many persons, seeing this constant companionship and knowing Villena's reputation, insisted that the slave was a fiend of hell, an obviously impossible supposition, since the marquis planned to deceive the devil through him, by making the black his substitute after his own death. Among other magic paraphernalia, Villena had in his possession a magic hat, which was to play an important part in the deception he planned to perpetrate.

One night he awakened the slave and gave him his instructions.

« Mark this, dear Ali, when you see me at the point of death, do not leave my bedside for a single moment, and above all let no one in to see me. I want no doctors, for they would kill me before my time. I want no servants for they would rob me of everything I have. Neither do I wish to see my wife, for from the moment she would be sure my end was near, she would set about planning another marriage. You alone must stay with me, and woe to you if you do not carry out all my commands! »

The slave promised to obey his master's orders to the letter. Then the marquis continued.

« Do you see this hat? As soon as I cease to live, put it on your head, and you will immediately assume my form. Everybody will believe that you are the marquis, and you will enjoy all the advantages of my position. But be careful to keep your head covered at all times. Never take the hat off, for if you do, you will at once resume your own shape and that will ruin me forever. Take my body to my laboratory, to which you alone have the key, lay it on the big table there, and cut it up into the smallest possible pieces. Mix everything together, bones, flesh and blood, and, when the mixture looks like hash, put it all into the bottle standing behind my easy chair. Then hide the bottle, and take every precaution that no one touches it. See to it that you carry out these instructions, for even after my death, I can find a way to destroy you. »

Sometime after this conversation, the marquis fell very ill, and the slave, following his master's wishes, allowed no one to go near him. The marquis died, and Ali immediately put on

the magic hat. Thus disguised he received the congratulations of Villena's friends on his supposed recovery. He then cut up his master's body and hid the pieces in the flask, as he had been instructed. Eight months passed. Everybody treated Ali exactly as if he were the marquis. The good slave enjoyed the situation and hoped it would continue. But presently it became noticed that the marquis never took off his hat; neither at table, nor in bed, nowhere did he uncover his head. At first this peculiarity was regarded as an eccentricity of the marquis, but, when it was remarked that he never went to court nor to church, and in general avoided mingling with his fellows, it began to be whispered about that he was a magician and sorcerer.

What was the devil doing meanwhile? Nothing, for duped by the marquis' ruse, he supposed that Villena was still alive. But dark deeds cannot remain hidden forever. One morning the marquis, or rather Ali, was forced to pass a church. He quickened his pace so that no circumstance might force him to take off his hat. Unlucky chance! The church door opened and a priest appeared, carrying the viaticum to a sick person. Everyone near paid fitting honor to the holy emblem except the supposed marquis, who tried to hide himself in a doorway to avoid uncovering. His action only emphasized his unwillingness to follow the simple custom. A crowd immediately gathered, crying out against such heresy. One bystander, more indignant than the rest, knocked off the hat.

How startled were the spectators on perceiving before their astonished eyes, instead of the marquis, his ugly black slave, Ali! Completely bewildered, the imposter did not have left sufficient presence of mind to pick up his hat and cover his head again. The crowd swelled, and clamored for a punishment of the miscreant. Every one had a different explanation to offer for the miracle, certain ones among the crowd even asserting that the marquis had been changed into this horrible form because of his godless behavior.

The police took the matter in hand, and the trembling black was dragged before a court of justice amid the jeers and jostlings of the people. In the presence of the magistrates, he confessed the plot, revealing the spot where the bottle was hidden. Followed by the multitude, the judges went in a body to the place designated, found the bottle, and carefully examined it. What was their astonishment to perceive within it a body resembling that of an eight months child, floating in a yellowish liquid ! It lacked but one month for the marquis to be born again and to enter once more into the light of the world ! The slave was beheaded for his participation in this unholy business, the bottle was broken, and its contents safely buried out of sight. The death of the marquis was thus assured, and the devil won the game.

The date of this legend is of course earlier than 1864. Its principal elements were already used in the story told by Johann Limberg in 1690. But here the details are more elaborately worked out, and the story is told more forcefully and dramatically. Furthermore one single incident of Villena's magic career is skilfully developed, with the result that this anonymous tale has more coherence and unity than many another more ambitious literary production of this Villena cycle, most of whose authors have tried unsuccessfully to weld all the different legends into one single story or play.

There remain to be discussed two versions of the shadow motif. One is a short tale found in Fernan Caballero's *Cuentos y Poesías Populares Andaluces* [1]. A chance allusion to the Peña Carmesí offers an excuse for the story. The Marqués de Villena studied with the devil at the Peña Carmesí. Every day the devil lifted up a slab which covered a tablet where the daily lesson was written. In this school the marquis learned so much that he

1. Seville, 1859, p. 75.

finally surpassed his master. The devil, becoming jealous, one day let the slab fall on the marquis intending to kill him. But Villena, suspecting the devil's scheme, was on his guard, and at the critical moment, he leaped aside, thereby saving his life. But the descending slab caught his shadow, and so it came about that the marquis was thereafter shadowless. Caballero herself, in a foot-note discussing the provenance of this story, mentions *Peter Schlemihl*, and she acknowledges an uncertainty as to whether the shadow legend comes from northern or from southern Europe.

The only non-Spanish treatment of the Villena legend is Theodor Körner's poem, *Der Teufel in Salamanca* [1], which offers no new material.

« Zu Salamanca im Kellergewölbe
Der Teufel auf dem Katheder sass
Wie andre Doctoren, und derselbe
Schwarze Kunst nach eigen Heften las. »

As in the Spanish versions, Villena, « der Graf », tricks the devil by leaving his shadow behind.

« Doch noch was Wunderbares sich fand
Denn als er in lichter sonne stand
Erschracken alle und staunten sehr :
Der Graf warf keinen Schatten mehr ! »

A study of the Villena legends brings the conviction that they contain ample material for a great masterpiece, but, as Menéndez y Pelayo has somewhere said, Villena lacked a Goethe to make him immortal. It is true that many of the stories circulated about Villena were told also of Virgil and Faust, but in their Spanish form, they undoubtedly have an individuality and an

1. *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Streckfuss, Berlin, 1855, vol. I, p. 227.

originality all their own. The divine touch of a genius might have made the Spanish-nobleman-magician a character known to universal literature.

I have endeavored to gather together here all the legends centering about this unique personality, as they have been so far put into popular and literary forms. The genius who will more fittingly employ them may even now arise in this twentieth century renaissance of Spain.

Chapter IV.

SOME MINOR MAGICIANS IN SPANISH LITERATURE.

Although Villena far overshadowed any other character in the magic literature of Spain, there have appeared here and there a few minor magicians worthy of consideration. Villena's principal rival is perhaps Eugenio Torralva, made famous by the magic pen of Cervantes. Before passing on to him, however, the Moorish magician, Mulien Bucar of Lope de Rueda's *Armelina* [1], should be mentioned on account of the use which the author made of the Medea legend—a legend which has been referred to in connection with the bottled Villena [2]. Viana, in search for his lost daughter Armelina, comes to Mulien Bucar for aid. The Moor immediately calls upon Pluto and Proserpina to help him in conjuring up Medea, the sorceress. « Haya, haya, xiñora Medea, venir á mi llamamiento. » She promptly answers his summons and gives the audience an account of herself. « Ves me aquí, yo soy aquella que por amores de aquel mancebo que tú sabes, fuí fratricida desmembrando en piéças menudas á mi pequeñuelo hermano Absirto, porque el viejo padre de entrambos, en tanto que yo huia de su vista por seguir al mi Fason, recogiendo los esparcidos y sangrientos pedaços del amado hijo, por algun espacio de tiempo se detuviese, en tanto que yo con mi nuevo esposo en las naves me recogia sin otras cosas que asi por mi sabiduría como por mi crueldad viviendo procuré efectuar. »

1. In *Colección de Libros Raros ó Curiosos*, vol. XXIV., Madrid, 1896; ed. Fuensanta del Valle. The play belongs to the third quarter of the sixteenth century.

2. Cf. chap. III, of this study.

Mulien is impatient at this long harangue. He knows Medea well enough. His interest is to discover the whereabouts of Armelina, and what magic herbs, stones, or infernal powers must be used in finding her. When Medea tells him that the lost girl is in the very city where he lives, the magician has no further use for her, and dismisses her, sending his compliments to Pluto, Proserpina, and « Canxerbero ». The fact that a Moorish magician should be made to call up a Greek mythical sorceress shows the confused, embryonic condition of Spanish playwriting in the middle of the sixteenth century. Lope de Rueda used classic figures which had filtered into Spain through Italian channels, but apparently he could not conceive of a magician who was not a Moslem. Medea's account of herself shows a second-hand knowledge of the legend, for it was Pelias who was cut up in the original story.

Torralva owes his fame chiefly to two sources, his own confession and Cervantes' lines. Curiously enough his magic reputation was not based on posthumous legends but on his own description of his magic feats. This, together with the accusations brought against him at his trial, form the basis for the accounts we have of his life[1]. In his confession, he was astute enough to mention only dead men, with the exception of Diego de Zuñiga, his accuser. Doctor Eugenio Torralva was born at Cuenca toward the close of the fifteenth century, and at an early age entered the service of Don Francisco Soderini, Bishop of Volterra, as his page in Rome. He obtained a degree in medicine in 1501, and he must have been a skilful physician, for during his lifetime he served many high dignitaries.

According to his confession, he studied philosophy and metaphysics at Rome. His excursions into these fields, and the dis-

1. Cf. Antonio Llorente : *Historia Crítica de la Inquisición en España*, Madrid, 1822, vol. III, p. 228 ff.

putes which he had with free thinkers, finally made a sceptic of him. One of his Roman friends, a Dominican named Fray Pedro, who was interested in the occult sciences, offered Torralva, in return for some slight favor, the services of a certain spirit, Zequiel. This spirit is the most lovable of any created by the sixteenth century writers. Torralva tells us that he was an « angel bueno, espíritu de intelligencia. » He abhorred the very suggestion of a pact, and sought no return for his services, « Yo seré tuyo mientras vivas, » he told Torralva, « y te seguiré á donde quiera que te vayas. » Zequiel must have indeed found Torralva more to his liking than his former master, whom he never again mentions. He does not once advise Torralva to do anything that is not sanctioned by the Church, and he even accompanies the doctor to mass. He often censures his new master for petty sins, and rebukes him many a time for professional avarice. He usually assumes the form of a blond youth, dressed in a red suit with a black surtout. Sometimes, however, he appears as a pilgrim or hermit. Although he knows other tongues, Zequiel speaks to Torralva only in Latin or Italian.

Like so many other spirits of the sixteenth century, Zequiel knew the magic secrets of herbs and of animals, that is, white magic. This knowledge he taught Torralva, and through it the doctor made marvellous cures, thereby becoming famous. He also furnished his master with money whenever he needed it, but would never disclose the source from which he himself received it. Torralva, in his confession, admits that he had gone deeply into the study of chiromancy, and that people often came to him to have their futures revealed to them. Zequiel always helped him with his prophecies which were mainly concerned with political events. Whenever he accepted money for these prognostications, Zequiel would rebuke him, telling him that he had expended no effort worth a return in money. On one occasion, when at the court of Fernando el Católico, he foretold to cardinal Cisneros the loss of a battle by the Spanish arms in Africa, the latter,

having heard that Volterra had once seen Zequiel, expressed a desire also to see him. Torralva tried to persuade Zequiel to present himself in any form he might choose, but the spirit would not consent to appear.

One day at Rome, Torralva was asked by a friend named Salcedo to accompany him out of town. He would have gone willingly, had not Zequiel dissuaded him. On that excursion, Salcedo was slain. On one occasion, Zequiel warned the doctor to tell a certain friend, Margano, not to leave the city, but Torralva, not having an opportunity to see his friend that very day, put off his visit until the next morning. Not finding Margano at home, he began a search for him. His body was eventually found a short distance outside of Rome.

The cardinal of Santa Cruz once asked Torralva to go with his doctor Morales to the house of a Spanish lady La Rosales. (Torralva evidently did not rack his brains for names, Smith or Brown would do). This lady was terrorized every night by the appearance of a phantom in her room. Morales had spent a night in the room, but could see nothing. Torralva, however, saw the figure of a murdered man, and behind it what looked like a woman. « Qué buscas aquí ? » he asked the phantom. « Un tesoro, » it answered, and immediately disappeared. When asked to explain the meaning of this reply, Zequiel said that the body of a murdered man was buried beneath the house, at a spot where a treasure had also been hidden.

Once when Torralva was out walking with a party of friends; Diego de Zuñiga, his future accuser, saw something indefinable pass by the side of the doctor. He asked what it was, and, when informed that it was Zequiel, he expressed a desire to see the spirit. Although Torralva was again willing for him to show himself, Zequiel refused to become visible.

Zequiel's greatest magical triumph was his wonderful airship. « Cavalgado en una caña por los aires y guiado por una nube de fuego » Zequiel and Torralva travelled thousands of miles in as

many seconds. The doctor went back and forth from Spain to Italy before his absence was noticed by his friends. His most famous flying trip was made in 1527. When foretold by Zequiel of the sack of Rome, he declared his intention of seeing the great event. Mounted on a « palo llano de nudos » — it seems this was the masculine substitute for the witch's broom — Torralva and his attending spirit travelled from Valladolid to Rome in one hour. « Cierra los ojos », commanded Zequiel, « no tenjas miedo, ten eso en la mano y no te resultara mal alguno. » When Torralva opened his eyes, they were so near the sea they could easily touch it. He beheld a dark cloud in front of him which gradually lighted up so that he feared he should be burned. Zequiel calmed his apprehension, and Torralva closed his eyes again. He did not reopen them until he felt himself once more on *terra firma*. About him he recognized the familiar sights of Rome, and heard the clock of San Angelo strike midnight. They had left Valladolid at eleven. At the close of this memorable day, they went back to Valladolid by the same means which had brought them to Rome. The return journey, however, took them one hour and a half.

Back in Spain, Torralva gained a wide reputation as a « nigromante » and « hechicero » by describing the terrible details of the sack of Rome, long before any official news of the disaster could be received. He took no pains to conceal the method of transportation he had employed in making the journey to Rome and back. The story of this feat brought about his arrest by the officers of the inquisition at Cuenca in 1528. Even then he could have avoided punishment had he not been bent on forcing a belief in his magic exploits.

The principal informer against him was his former friend, Diego de Zuñiga, who, having believed the stories that Torralva had told him, and fearing the consequences of his connection with such questionable proceedings, reported them to the officers of the inquisition. Then came Torralva's confession, on which

most of the facts here given are based. The Spanish inquisition, so often accused of fanatical barbarism, seems to have been very lenient with Torralva, considering his sweeping confession. On account of the inconsistencies in his story, he was not sentenced to death. He was, however, put to torture, in order that the inquisition might ascertain more about the spirit, whether it belonged to the evil order, with what intention he had received it, and similar information. The torture brought only more inconsistencies in Torralva's answers. Whereas before he had insisted that the spirit was of the good order, he now admitted that it must be evil since it had caused his present misfortune. When asked if Zequiel came to him in prison, he replied that the spirit had visited him, but against his wish, and he had no power to keep it away. He could only promise never again to summon it. The inquisitors themselves seem to have imbibed the superstition of the time, for they asked Torralva to ascertain Zequiel's attitude toward Luther and Erasmus. The wily doctor of course replied that Zequiel condemned both of them.

Torralva was finally sentenced to wear the « sambenito » and was sent to prison. The length of his punishment was, however, left to the will of the inquisitor general. He was commanded not to communicate with Zequiel for the good of his soul. Through the mediation of the Almirante de Castilla, Fadrique Enriquez, whose physician Torralva had been, the prisoner was freed in 1531, and once more resumed his position with the Almirante. Thus the period of his trial and detention lasted only three years.

It must have been fairly evident to the inquisitors that Torralva was anxious to pass as an accomplished master of the black arts. This may account for their clemency. A man who would be willing to undergo torture and even jeopardize his life in order to gain notoriety is certainly an unusual figure in history. But posterity will not have legends foisted upon it; it must be allowed to create and evolve them spontaneously. Thus it was

that the magical reputation of Villena was far more widely known than that of Torralva, who really owes his immortality to a greater creative genius than himself.

And yet the spirit that Torralva invented is intensely original. Zequiel has nothing in common with the evil counselling demons of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Like Socrates, Torralva would have a good angel whispering words of wisdom in his ear. There can be no doubt that Torralva was an excellent physician, else he would not have held the high positions conferred upon him by nobles and ecclesiastics. He had, however, a monomania in regard to the spirit, and had probably persuaded himself that Zequiel actually existed.

The one incident of Torralva's life which posterity, with the help of Cervantes has remembered, is the flight from Valladolid to Rome. Stories of this character are not uncommon in and out of Spain in the sixteenth century. Two of the best known are told of a curé of Bargota and a bishop of Jaen. The Bargota priest also had a spirit companion and made long journeys through the air, but only on beneficial missions. One day the spirit told the priest that the pope (Alexander VI) would that night die a violent death at the hands of a band of ruffians hired by an irate husband, whose wife had been carrying on an intrigue with him. The spirit rejoiced over the calamity, but the priest wanted to save the pope's life. He pretended to the spirit that he wished to see the excitement the event would cause, and also to witness the funeral. The wish was granted and in an incredibly short time, the priest was transported to Rome. He warned the pope of the impending danger, and so saved his life. If this tale goes back to the time of Pope Alexander VI, who died in 1503, it might have offered suggestions to Torralva[1].

1. Thos. Wright: *Narratives of Sorcery and Magic*, London, 1851, vol. II, ch. 18.

Feijoo comments on a story about a bishop of Jaen who was said to have gone to Rome « caballero sobre la espalda de un diablo de alquiler. » [1] When he came back his hat was covered with snow which fell on it during the passage over the Alps. This same hat was, at the time of Feijoo's writing, reported to be still preserved at Madrid. While crossing the sea, the devil tried to make the bishop say the word « Jesus », thereby affording an excuse for the spirit to drop him into the sea. But the bishop suspected the trap and said instead, « Arre Diablo », making the demon fly on faster.

Some thirty-five years after Torralva's trial, in 1566, Luis de Zapata introduced this magician into his epic *Carlo Famoso* [2]. Whenever Torralva makes his appearance, two asterisks are placed in the margin to show that that part of the work is imaginative and is to be separated from the historical events of the life of Charles V. According to Ticknor, the stanzas on Torralva and the account of the death of Garcilaso are the best sections of the poem [3].

Torralva first appears in canto XXVIII. We are given to understand that he is one of the imperial suite and is called upon to give some information about a certain town of Llerena. Here he is characterized as,

« un grãde hõbre y Nigromante,
Médico y familiar del Almirante ».

The arrival of the royal party at Rome in 1527 offers Zapata an opportunity to tell about Torralva's flying visit to Rome during the sack of that city.

« Torralua aquel famoso Nigromante
. . . . . .

1. In a letter found in the *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, vol. LVI, p. 499.
2. Cf. ed. of Valencia, 1566.
3. *History of Span. Lit.*, vol. II, p. 461.

En su casa encerrado con semblante
Pensatiuo y profundo este dia estaua,
Y ya à unos y otros libros reboluia,
Y à pensar el de nueuo se bolvia.
Zaquiel un familiar qu'en la figura
De un uiejo sano ant'el se aparescia,
Con un bordon, y en cuerpo en uestidura
Blanca que hasta el suelo le cubria :
Y con la barba blanca à la cintura,
Como assi tan pensoso estar le uia,
En la cerrada pieça en este instante
Se aparescio à Torralua nigromante [1]. »

It will be remembered that, according to Torralva's own confession, Zequiel ordinarily appeared to him in the form of a blond youth, sometimes also as a hermit or pilgrim. The above description of the spirit then is suggested by Torralva's confession, but embellished by Zapata. When asked why he was pensive, the magician is made to answer that he had read in the stars the foreshadowing of a great event. An astrological knowledge is new to Torralva. He himself never mentioned it. Zaquiel explains the prophecy by announcing that on the morrow Rome will be sacked.

« Haura sangre y crueldad en abundancia
De que yo espero auer muy gran ganancia. »

This is maligning Torralva's spirit, who, we were assured, never rejoiced in anything evil.

Night was falling when the doctor and Zaquiel left Medina. Outside the city

« donde havia
Unos casares propios para Magos »,

they found two steeds, « dos negros quartagos. »

1. Canto XXX, p. 165.

In another passage these steeds are described as

« quartagos de malin
Color, con el espíritu malino ».

The cane which, according to his confession, Torralva used as a mount is here used

« para regir la bestia fiera ».

As in the original story, Torralva is asked to close his eyes. Then off they flew.

« Se uio muy espantado yr mas ligero
Que si fuera en el uiento cauallero. »

But the experience was so vertiginous that Torralva had to close his eyes again immediately.

« Y uieron junto à si de Çaragoça
Las torres, ni una hora era passada ».

He wanted to exclaim « Jesus » but did not dare ; it seemed to him as tho he were in a dream.

The journey took them across the Mediterranean. Over the waves they sped ; Torralva, filled with terror, commending himself to God's care. The waters were soon crossed and they were up in the air again, so high that the view of land was lost. Finally they reached Rome, alighting at a spot where they could get a good view of the city.

« Y ya à un lado del cielo rompia el alua ».

It had taken them from twilight until dawn to complete the journey on their black steeds, which could not have been so speedy as the cane on which they travelled the distance in one hour. Zapata then describes the sack. After it is over, the visitors turn back to Spain.

« Y en un dia natural a ella uiniendo
Lo uisto al Almirante lo contava,
Y en un dia solo assi se supo quanto
En Roma havia passado por encanto ».

Several stanzas having no connection with the Torralva account follow. Then suddenly the author reverts to it.

« Torralva en tanto el magico severo
Que la nueua de Roma havia antes dado,
Por hauer salido el tan uerdadero,
Biuia de todo el mundo honrrado:
Y de un caso liuiano à otro mas fiero,
(Como en el mundo acaesce) levantado,
De à todo el mundo dar buelta en rodeo,
Le tomo uoluntad y gran desseo[1] ».

This desire of Torralva's comes entirely from Zapata who promises to narrate his extraordinary adventures. Now and then the author remembers that it is Torralva and Zaquiel who are seeing the things he describes, and then he mentions them by name. But he soon wearies of the fiction and neglects Torralva completely. In Canto XXXI describing the magic powers which God has given man, wherein are

« Sujetos los diablos con encanto ».

we are told that

« Est'arte Zoroastro diò à la gente,
Que hoy no hay creo que Torralua la sauia.
Pues siempre a aquel espiritu à su lado
Le tenia, como he dicho à su mandado ».

Villena, however, also knew this art. To help him on the long journey, Zaquiel has given Torralva the power of distant vision and has fortified his head against dizziness.

1. p. 169.

« La frente le tocò, y por ambos lados
Con no se que, qu'en ella le ponia
. . . . . .
No se le desvanezca la cabeza ».

Torralva is warned by Zaquiel of the difficulties attending a long flight, of the exposure to heat and cold, to wild beasts and monsters of the sea and air. But Torralva had full confidence in Zaquiel's powers, and off they went.

« Pues luego à leuantar se començauan
Torralua y Zaquiel altos por el uiento,
Debaxo de los pies negros llevaban
Los quartagos pelotas aun de uiento :
Que en tocando en el mismo ayre botauan
Al cielo, y menester era gran tiento,
Porque no se subiessen sin parallos
De bote en bote à lo alto estos cauallos ».

Here Zapata reverts to his main theme, and without describing the promised adventures, tells about Torralva's increased fame on his return to Spain.

« Y assi huvo muy gran fama entre las gẽtes
Que despues que torno el mago à Medina
De aquel uiage acabada la conquista
Fue un hombre de gran seso y de gran uista ».

After these lines he dismisses Torralva again, promising to recount his further adventures. He simply mentions his arrival thereafter at the different cities which are alluded to in the course of the poem. After Canto XLI., he drops Torralva and Zaquiel completely.

The only substantial divergence that Zapata made from Torralva's confession is in the substitution of the horses for the cane. The author probably considered equestrian transportation more in keeping with the dignity of his epic. This chance would not require great imaginative capacity since magic flights on enchant-

ed steeds were common at the time. Moreover Zapata had the precedent of the winged animals in the Italian romances of chivalry. As may be said in general of the *Carlo Famoso*, Torralva's story is well told, but there is very little poetic inspiration in it. What Zapata took from Torralva's confession is better than what he adds. The main importance of Zapata's description of Torralva's adventures lies in the fact that he perpetuated the doctor's own story.

It is fairly certain that Cervantes knew the *Carlo Famoso*. Among the books which were cast into the fire without examination in the *Don Quixote* was « los hechos del emperador compuestos por D. Luis de Avila [1]. » This is probably a slip on the part of Cervantes, as most commentators agree, and for « Avila » we should read « Zapata. » These books Cervantes goes on to say, « sin duda debian de estar entre los que quedaban, y quizá si el Cura los viera no pasaran por tan rigurosa sentencia. » We may gather then that Cervantes did not rate the *Carlo Famoso* as highly as the books that were saved ; he put it in the second rank.

The *Don Quixote* is a mine of magic lore, and it is not surprising to find there a parody of the many magic flights through the air. Don Quixote and Sancho have mounted Clavileño with eyes blindfolded, much to the discomfort of the squire who was oppressed by the warm bandages [2]. He was about to tear them off when Don Quixote exclaimed : « No hagas tal, y acuérdate del verdadero cuento del licenciado Torralva, á quien llevaron los diablos en volandas por el aire, caballero en una caña, cerrados los ojos, y en doce horas llegó á Roma, y se apeó en Torre de Nona, que es una calle de la ciudad, y vió todo el fracaso y asalto y muerte de Borbon, y por la mañana ya estaba de vuelta en Madrid, donde dió cuenta de todo lo que habia visto ; el cual

1. Part I, chap. VII, opening lines.
2. Part II, chap. XLI.

asimismo dijo que, cuando iba por el aire, le mandó el diablo que abriese los ojos, y los abrió, y se vió tan cerca, á su parecer del cuerpo de la luna, que la pudiera asir con la mano, y que no osó mirar á la tierra por no desvanecerse. » Neither Torralva's own confession nor Zapata's poem gave him the immortality which became his through this chance allusion of Cervantes.

Campoamor's *Licenciado Torralva* (1888) is a light, fanciful poem in eight cantos full of the author's platitudinous and paradoxical philosophy. All the names of his characters are taken from Torralva's confession, but they are completely distorted to fit into Campoamor's plan. In the original account no woman figures. Campoamor of course felt obliged to introduce the feminine element. The poem is divided into two parts, *La Mujer* and *El Hombre*, each subdivided into four cantos. The name *Licenciado Torralva*, Campoamor probably got from Cervantes. In the introduction, Torralva, like Socrates, is said to have had a « genio familiar, » Zaquiel, a fallen angel, one of four sent to take the soul of a child to heaven. On the way, he had gazed longingly upon a beautiful woman of flesh and because of this sin he was forbidden entrance to heaven until he could bring back with him a redeemed soul. He picked out Torralba.

> « Y siempre aventurero
> seguía la conducta descreída
> de Eugenio de Torralba.
> . . . . . .
> De la ciencia escolástica aburrido,
> dejó por el amor la teología,
> . . . . . .
> algun patriarca era un Don Juan con canas. »

In addition to being a sceptic and Don Juan, he was an epicure, and had as his motto,

> « Come bien, bebe más, goza de prisa
> porque esto es todo, y lo demás nada ».

The woman of the poem is Catalina upon whom Zaquiel had cast amorous eyes. Campoamor calls her later La Rosales, thus identifying her with the woman who, in the confession, saw the phantom of the murdered man in her room. There seems to be no good reason why Campoamor should have taken such pains to use the actual names of the confession which do not in any way suggest his characters. Catalina and Zaquiel in their pure, childlike love, are seen by Torralba, who becomes enamored of the beautiful girl, and inspires her with earthly love. Her affection for Zaquiel turns cold and she follows the fortunes of Torralba. Zaquiel goes down to hell, learns its ways and comes back to earth transformed into an evil demon. He wins Catalina back again through his newly acquired knowledge, the author's philosophy evidently being that a woman once fallen sinks deeper and deeper.

But Catalina ultimately sees the error of her ways and becomes redeemed. Two rivals for her hand, Salcedo and Margano — two more names taken from the confession — wound each other mortally in a duel. Catalina rushes to their aid followed by Torralba who had been informed of the tragedy by Zaquiel. Catalina recognizes her former lover, and her love for him returns, but the dying rivals, with one last effort, put an end to her life in their jealousy of the living Torralba. Her spirit however will not leave him, and remains on earth. Torralba struggles with this spirit, for

> « ella sentía una afección divina
> pero él buscaba en el amor lo humano »,

The first part of this poem may seem like the decadent work of a senile pen. The second part is far superior. « Para qué sirve un alma? « Torralba asks himself, « Para nada. » And so forthwith he proceeds to fabricate a « muliércula. »

> « Y prepara un matraz donde fermente sangre desfibrinada,
> mucho almidón de grano de cebada,
> y cáseo de la leche de jumenta ».

But although the result gives the most beautiful Venus imaginable, she is completely lacking in soul. Complaining of his failure to his friend Fray Pedro, another name from the confession, the latter gives him directions to find

« la hechicera Estrella,
. . . . . .
Con su conjuro, opino
que encontrarás el medio
de hallar el *quid divinum* femenino.
. . . . . .
Después que esté *muliércula* formada
le llevarás para acercarla al foco
del fuego del infierno, y ya tostada,
tendrá, cual debe, la mujer creada
algo de Dios y del Demonio un poco ».

Following this advice, Torralba betakes himself to the « laboratorio de hechiceras » and explains to doña Estrella,

« como otros el *Homúnculus*, señora,
Yo busco la *Muliércula* en la ciencia ».

After several stages of development,

« *Muliércula* se alzó galvanizada
mas dormida por dentro todavía. »

She is now ready to be taken to hell where she receives the finishing touches from one Juan García, who was a

« sabio en astrología
canónigo y doctor en Barcelona, »

a personage whom I have been unable to identify. Pouring hot coals upon the unfinished embryo, García cries:

« En el nombre de la santa
Madre naturaleza !
. . . . . .

Marcha ahora á vivir, ama y se amada!
Así fué la *muliércula* aquel dia
con fuego del infierno bautizada. »

Meanwhile Zaquiel again restored to his angelic form, together with Catalina's spirit, pray for the pardon of the sinner.

In the last canto, entitled, *Torralba halla la dicha en la muerte* we are suddenly transported to the prison of Cuenca. Here Torralba is facing the charge of having an attendant spirit, and of being

« alquimista, hechicero, mago, y brujo. »

Campoamor was little concerned with the feats of the original Torralva; they appear only in the accusations brought against him now. It is charged that he

« aprendió la ciencia ignota
del cura de la aldea de Bargota
que en minutos, montado en una caña
iba y venía desde Italia á España. »

Among other heresies, he is also charged with having created the *muliércula*, and

« teniendo con las brujas y los brujos
muchas cenas con pan, con vino y queso. »

In answer to the question « Estáis arrepentido? », Torralba makes a declaration of faith which smacks very strongly of Campoamor's own philosophy of life:

« En religion desprecio mas que el clero
la ignorancia del díscolo Lutero:
y si estudio el problema
de si es peor la vida que la nada,
eso lo ví en Pirrón, ...
. . . . . .

No extrañéis que mi juicio
prefiera, con perdón del Santo Oficio,
á una existencia ascética, la muerte ;
el amor es la vida en ejercicio,
. . . . . .
Dudo mucho, es verdad ; y cuando niego
es que imito el estilo
de aquel divino Sócrates, »

Torralba is condemned to the torture, and the *muliércula* or « Torralbesa » is consigned to the flames. On the rack, Torralba stoically meets his end.

« Y oh, divina ilusión ! Ya agonizante
cree oir Torralba en el postrer instante
la voz de Catalina que le dice :
por aquí... por aquí... sigue adelante,
que el cielo por mi mano te benedice ! »

As in the case of his poem on Don Juan, Campoamor has distorted Torralba beyond recognition. The best part of the *Licenciado Torralba* is the *muliércula* motif, aside from its pseudo-philosophical meaning. We are not interested in its philosophy; we are mainly concerned with the magical concoction of the *muliércula* which is very ingeniously developed. All through the poem we are constantly reminded of Dante and Goethe. Campoamor also was ambitious of being ranked as a philosophical poet. This poem illustrates how far he fell short of that mark.

Ramón Ramirez is another Moorish or rather Morisco magician. In March 1600, the inquisition of Toledo tried this Morisco doctor on the charge of having intercourse with the devil. Del Río tells us that under torture, Ramirez confessed that he had once abjured Mohammedanism but had lapsed into it again [1].

1. *Disq. Mag.* Bk. II, *quaest.* 24.

He had made a pact with the devil, and paying with his soul, had learned the magic secrets of herbs and stones, whereby he had attained high rank in the magical profession. His services were in much demand and he became very wealthy. He too could conjure up a magic horse which would travel through the air. Del Río, who delights in elaborating magic conjurations, describes how Ramirez washed himself early in the morning and turned toward the east repeating certain prayers and bowing to the ground with palms outstretched. This is of course nothing but the Moslem method of prayer. Up to this point, in Del Río's description, except for the Morisco element, Ramirez might be Torralva since he is credited with many of the same characteristics.

Del Río goes on to relate one or two stories told about Ramirez. Once at Deza he was asked to restore a wife who had suddenly disappeared and who was supposed by her husband to have been carried off by demons. Ramon told the husband to go to a certain spot, make a circle and stand in the middle of it. When he should hear a band of men about him — even though he would not be able to see them — he must throw them a letter, which Ramirez would give him, and ask where his wife was. The husband followed out these instructions and his wife was restored to him by the demons. Stories like this one are very common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Alarcon probably based his *Quien Mal Anda en Mal Acaba* on the following tale, also found in Del Río. A woman of Deza, on the first day of her marriage, showed signs of great depression and, for some unknown reason, conceived a violent hatred for her parents and her husband. The latter, conjecturing by these signs that she was possessed with demons, went to a priest to have them exorcised. But when one was removed, a hundred others took its place. Finally Ramirez, famed for his powers in exorcising demons, was summoned. He ordered the demons to relinquish their prey and threatened them with dire consequences

if they should refuse to depart. Seeing that the demons obstinately remained, he requested all those present to withdraw. He then expostulated at great length with the evil spirits, imploring them not to humiliate him and destroy his reputation. Finally he obtained their promise to leave the woman for fifteen days. Ramón had won his point, for he possessed a means of keeping them away forever, once they were out, if he so desired. Dissatisfied with his meagre pay, he told the parents that the demons would come back in fifteen days. This they did, with greater violence than before. In despair, the parents sent for Ramirez, but not until he had been given a large sum of money would he consent to provide a remedy by which the woman was finally cured.

It will be remembered that *Quien Mal Anda en Mal Acaba*[1] was cited in connection with the *Mágico Prodigioso* and the devil pact plays[2]. Alarcón seems to have had a liking for the magic element, as is evinced by his use of it in *La Prueba de las Promesas*[3], and the *Cueva de Salamanca*[4]. The scene of *Quien Mal Anda en Mal Acaba* is laid at Deza. We learn in the opening lines that Ramirez is a Morisco for he eats no ham and drinks no wine. Just as in his *Cueva de Salamanca*, Alarcón introduces a descendant of the great Villena, in this play he makes Ramirez a grandson of the magician. In the first case a reason may be found for the substitution, in the second there appears to be none. Alarcón uses the same method employed by Mescua and Calderón to present the devil. Ramirez meets Aldonza and, smitten with her charms, he cries out:

> « Hay un demonio que escuche
> Estas quejas, estas voces,

1. *Bib. Aut. Esp.*, vol. XX, p. 211.
2. Cf. chap. II.
3. Cf. chap. I.
4. Cf. chap. III.

Y por oponerse al cielo
Dé remedio á mis pasiones [1] ? »

The devil, as in the other plays, appears « en forma de galan » and offers to help him, saying :

« Yo soy tu amigo, que soy
Quien á tu abuelo ha servido
De familiar :
. . . . . .
Pues con recíproco pacto
Nos obligamos los dos :
Tú á adorarme á mi por Dios,
Y yo, igualando al contracto,
A cumplirte ese deseo,
Y hacer que de Aldonza goces,
. . . . . .
Riqueza, honor y opinion
De noble y sabio he de darte,
Y tras de todo, librarte
Del poder y la opresion
De las justicias : de suerte
Que te valga mi amistad
Eterna felicidad
En la vida y en la muerte [2]. »

A blood pact is signed between Ramirez and the devil who calls himself « Belsebú. »

Ramirez, an ignorant fellow who can neither read nor write, is to pose as a skilled physician, Demodolo, who has come to settle at Deza. The devil is to supply him with the knowledge necessary to play this part. He is then to create in Aldonza a loathing for her betrothed, Don Juan, and, at the same time, inspire her with a love for Ramirez, who is summoned to cure

1. Cf. Act. I, sc. V.
2. Act. I, sc. VI.

her of this sudden revulsion of feeling. With the help of the devil's magic, Ramirez gradually wins Aldonza, and just as he seems about to grasp his prize, a « familiar del Santo Oficio », in the form of the *deus ex machina*, arrests him on the charge of practising the Moslem faith. He is taken to Toledo where he confesses his dealings with the devil and is burned at the stake, for « quien mal anda en mal acaba. »

During the course of the play, the devil is constantly playing the conventional magic tricks on Tristan, the « gracioso. » At one time his dubloons are mysteriously changed to pennies, and then back to dubloons[1]. Again a bottle of wine and a loaf of bread become now a corpse and now ashes and ink[2]. As I have already shown, the incident of the devil taking the form of a rival and leaving the lady's house at night, is paralleled in the *Mágico Prodigioso*[3]. We have the blood pact elaborately developed in the first act, but it is never mentioned again. The devil takes to his heels upon the appearance of the officers of the inquisition, saying:

« mi furor,
Ramon, no os puede valer.
Aquí dió fin mi poder
Porque el del cielo es mayor[4]. »

Neither this play nor his other magic plays shows Alarcón at his best. The characterizations of Ramirez and the devil are weak. The plot centres mainly on the rivalry of Ramirez and Juan for Aldonza's hand. The play is in reality more a conventional love « comedia » with the « galan, » « dama » and « rival, » than a devil pact drama. Alarcón, unlike Calderón, is not exercised over

1. Act. II, sc. VI.
2. Act. III, sc. VIII.
3. Cf. chap. II.
4. Act. III, sc. XX.

the great question of the consequences of the pact on the soul. In spite of the moral in the title, his main interest is the rivalry of Ramirez and Juan, and the puerile magic tricks that the devil plays on the « gracioso. »

There remains to be discussed Don Juan de Espina, or as Quevedo calls him, Spinas. According to Quevedo[1], he was an estimable gentleman, son of Diego de Spinas, « contralor » under Philip II. He was very fond of music and painting, and was a much more learned man than most of his contemporaries. He paid the usual penalty, in being popularly considered a magician. That is all I have been able to find out about this man, who is the protagonist of two eighteenth century plays, both ascribed to José de Cañizares, *Don Juan de Espina en Madrid* and *Don Juan de Espina en Milan*[2].

I shall pass rapidly over the first play, which is a worthless piece of work and which well illustrates the state into which the Spanish stage of the early eighteenth century had fallen. Espina owes Aniceto a sum of money, and in order to avoid payment, the magician mystifies his victim by causing flights of stairs to disappear and doors to change their positions. To divert him from his financial business, Espina entertains his creditor with operas produced by magic.

In a later edition of this play dated 1775[3], operas and saynetes are actually incorporated, making the performance extremely long. There is no attempt whatsoever at character-drawing or literary construction. It is more of a « zarzuela » than a serious play.

The second play, *Don Juan de Espina en Milan*, is written in a

1. *Anales de Quince Dias. Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, vol. XXIII, p. 219.

2. Both appeared as « sueltas » in 1730 with no author given on the title page. « De un ingenio de esta corte » is all that appears. La Barrera ascribes both to Cañizares, and Menéndez y Pelayo refers to them as his.

3. Also a « suelta ». Cf. Ticknor collection.

far more serious spirit. Had not the author of the first play promised to recount the further adventures of Espina in Milan, I should certainly pronounce the play written by a different hand. All the characters are different, including Espina's servant, the « gracioso », which seems peculiar. This play belongs to the same series as Juan Manuel's story of Don Yllan and Alarcón's *Prueba de las Promesas*. In spite of the fact that Espina was the chief character in a previous play, we learn something about him here for the first time.

« Don Juan
de Espina, esse celebrado
milagro de Europa à quien
por ser de ciencias un pasmo
llaman el docto Español
en Milan [1]. »

Telling about his studies in Spain, where he possessed a magic head whose wonderful powers astonished every one, including king Philip, he is very careful to make it clear that the kind of magic he learned was white and not black. He had not studied.

« El abominable trato
de superstición perstigio
nigromancia, ni encanto,
pues essa es la magia negra [2]. . »

Don Cesar, a scion of the famous Borgia family, reduced to poverty and disappointed in love, comes to Espina in Milan for help. Espina hesitates, having had experience with the ingratitude of fallen nobles. But Cesar promises to reward him when restored to power. As in the *Prueba de las Promesas*, Cesar is made to believe during the time it takes to prepare a meal, that he is

1. Act. I, p. 2.
2. Act. I, p. 4.

being raised step by step until he reaches the throne. Espina asks the newly made king for a reward, but is bluntly ordered to withdraw on pain of death. Although there is nothing original in this motif it is well developed. Espina is represented as a dignified, disillusioned old scholar, and not the vulgar conjuror of the first play.

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